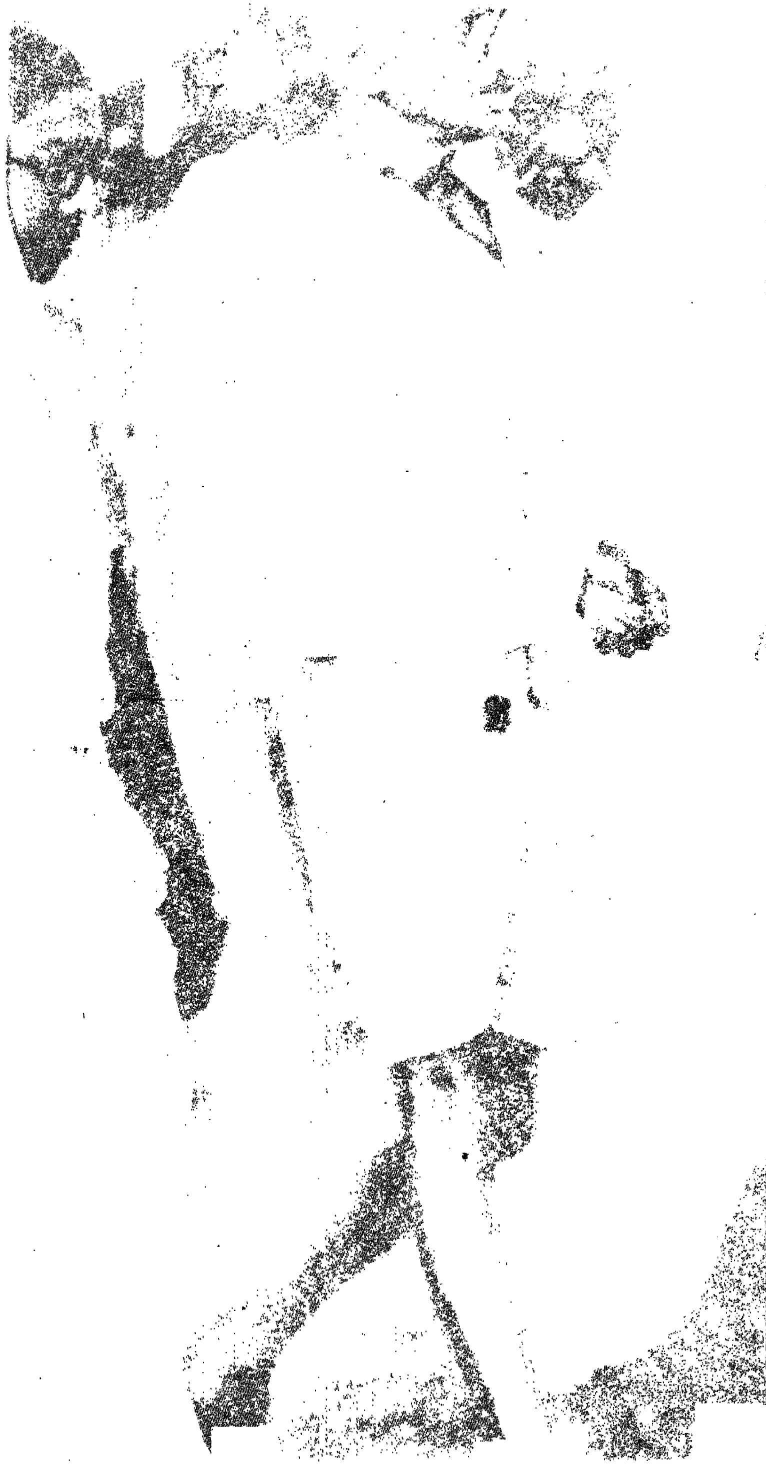


THE COLLECTED WORKS OF
MAHATMA GANDHI

LIX

(September 16 – December 15, 1934)

THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION
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PREFACE

The chain of events which had started with Gandhiji's fast of September 1932 (Vol. LI) culminated, in the period covered in this volume (September 16 to December 15, 1934), in his retiring from active leadership of the Indian National Congress and setting up, under the auspices of the Congress, the All-India Village Industries Association to work for "the economic, moral and hygienic uplift" (p. 304) of the rural population. Gandhiji's intention to retire was announced in a Press statement issued on September 17 but the final decision was postponed, at the suggestion of some members of the Working Committee and the Parliamentary Board, till after the ensuing session of the Congress in October. In the statement Gandhiji also announced a series of amendments to the Congress constitution which he intended to propose at the session. Congressmen's reactions to them in the intervening period would, he thought, enable him to test the accuracy or otherwise of his impression that he was "a hindrance rather than a help to the natural growth of the Congress, that ... the Congress had degenerated into an organization dominated by my one personality and that in it there was no free play of reason" (p. 4). The suggested amendments were not well received and in a second statement (pp. 174-84) issued on October 15, therefore, Gandhiji announced his final decision to retire immediately after the closing of the session, which was scheduled to start on October 23. His action, Gandhiji was at pains to emphasize later, was not prompted by any feeling of disgust (p. 261). He shared "no feeling of defeat", he told the Subjects Committee. "I go with your blessing in search of greater power to discover means whereby I can give you the faith that is in me" (pp. 228-9).

The "growing and vital difference of outlook between many Congressmen" and himself (p. 4), which Gandhiji set out in detail in the statement of September 17, related both to the content of swaraj and the means of achieving it. It sprang from a basic difference in their conceptions of politics. Whereas the vast majority of Congressmen were interested only in winning political freedom for the country, for Gandhiji politics meant the whole "science of citizenship" and included "advancement of humanity along all lines, social, moral, economic", and not only 'political' in the conventional sense of the word. It had been his "earnest endea-

vour to restore the meaning of politics to its root" and hence the main thrust of the Congress programme had been "progressively social, moral and economic" (p. 264). It included eradication of untouchability, promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity, total prohibition, hand-spinning with khadi and "cent per cent swadeshi in the sense of the revival of village industries" and general reorganization of seven lakhs of villages, and these, Gandhiji said, "ought to give all satisfaction that one's love of one's country may demand" (p. 9). He had not insisted on the carrying out of this wider programme as "a condition precedent to launching out any civil disobedience" because, he explained, he had been "overborne by the argument that the nation would take up these things in the course of civil disobedience." That expectation had not been realized (p. 267). Congressmen had shown little enthusiasm even for hand-spinning and khadi, which Gandhiji had put in the forefront of the programme. The spinning-wheel was, according to Gandhiji, "an emblem of human dignity and equality" as well as "the nation's second lung". Likewise, the khadi clause in tne Congress constitution represented a "living link between the Congress and the millions whom it has . . . sought to represent . . . ." But hand-spinning "by the Congress intelligentsia" had "all but disappeared" and "a substantial majority of Congressmen" had "no living faith" in the khadi clause (pp. 4-5).

The difference between Gandhiji and Congressmen in regard to means was equally fundamental. Gandhiji believed that "means and end are convertible terms and that, therefore, wnere the means are various and even contradictory the end must be different and even contradictory". Congressmen, on the other hand, believed "that end justifies means whatever they may be" (p. 9). This difference of approach was reflected in the attitude towards non-violence. As Gandhiji put it: "After 14 years of trial it still remains a policy with the majority of Congressmen whereas it is a fundamental creed with me" (p. 6). Because of this lack of faith on Congressmen's part in non-violence as a creed, the civil disobedience movement had failed to make any impact either on the Government or on the terrorists. "If we were non-violent through and through", Gandhiji argued, "our non-violence would have been self-evident" (p. 7).

These differences of outlook prevented Congressmen from appreciating the correctness of the steps Gandhiji had taken in the political field since his fast of September 1932. Whereas for Gandhiji the movement against untouchability was "a deeply religious and moral issue", many Congressmen thought that "it

was a profound error" for him "to have disturbed the course of the civil resistance struggle by taking up the question in the manner and at the time" he did (p. 6). Similarly, many Congressmen disapproved of the suspension, first, of mass civil disobedience in July 1933 (Vol. LV) and then of individual civil disobedience in April 1934 (Vol. LVII), and some of Gandhiji's best colleagues felt oppressed by the support he gave to the formation of a Parliamentary Party within the Congress (p. 5). Gandhiji had found it "increasingly difficult . . . to carry the reason of fellow Congressmen" with him on those issues, and their "voting without an intelligent belief in these resolutions" oppressed Gandhiji as much as it oppressed the Congressmen themselves. "They and I must be free from this oppression", he said, "if we are all to grow in pursuit of what we believe to be the common goal" (p. 7). Gandhiji claimed to be "a born democrat" and it was, therefore, "a humiliating revelation" to him that many "despaired of resisting" him. Similarly, though he had fundamental differences with the Socialists in regard to their programme, he would not, he said, "by reason of the moral pressure I may be able to exert suppress the spread" of their ideas or "interfere with the free expression of those ideas however distasteful some of them may be to me" (p. 6).

Instead of remaining in the Congress and fighting from within for his ideas, Gandhiji chose "the path of surrender" as being "in conformity with ahimsa" (p. 57), as he had done once before in 1925 when he had handed over control of the Congress to Motilal Nehru and the Swarajya Party led by him (Vol. XXVIII). Out of the Congress, he could carry on his experiment in "non-violence as a means of achieving the right thing including freedom" in "complete detachment" and with "absolute freedom of action." Only through non-violence could he conduct his search for truth, which was the supreme concern of his life. " 'Satya', in truth, is my God", he declared, and the freedom of India as of the whole world was included in that search for God in the form of Truth (p. 8).

The fight against untouchability which started in September 1932 was but a part of this search for truth (p. 44), a search which he could not suspend "for anything in this world or another" (p. 8). And now, the Harijan tour he had recently concluded had revealed to him that "the campaign against untouchability" implied "ever so much more than the eradication of ceremonial untouchability of those who are labelled untouchables." For the city-dweller, the villages had become untouchable (p. 414). Cities had "developed out of ruin to villages" and could not "escape their responsibility for the growing pauperism of the dumb

millions . . ." (p 179). City-dwellers must now "render unto the villagers what is due to them" (p. 410). Their "involuntary and voluntary idleness made them a perpetual prey of exploiters . . ." and it made no difference to them whether "the exploiter was from outside or from the Indian cities. . . ." In either case, Gandhiji said, "they would have no swaraj" (p. 408). Gandhiji, therefore, felt the necessity of setting up "a body that would make an honest attempt to return to the villagers what had "been cruelly and thoughtlessly snatched away from them by the city-dwellers" (p. 355). Having, accordingly, persuaded the Congress at its annual session to authorize the formation of the All-India Village Industries Association as "part of the activities of the Congress" (p. 220), Gandhiji used all his superb organizing ability to start it working and spread through it a new conception of swaraj for the millions. From now on, this vision of an economically and morally regenerated rural India (to which he had given tentative expression in *Hind Swaraj*) claimed more and more of Gandhiji's attention and energy, as he strove till the last day of his life to make it a practical reality.

Gandhiji knew well enough that the rejuvenation "of villages in the face of the current fashion of highly developed mechanization and centralization is no easy job" (p. 386). Even some of those who were deeply attached to him could not share his faith. V.S. Srinivasa Sastri spoke for many of them when, in reply to a letter from Gandhiji seeking his co-operation "at some point of my many activities" (p. 362), he wrote: ". . . you appear to be opening the first campaign of an endless and quixotic war against modern civilization . . . you would, if you could, turn it back on the course it has pursued for several millennia" (p. 363). In a letter to M. Visvesvarayya, the distinguished engineer-Diwan of the former State of Mysore who was an ardent advocate of mechanization, Gandhiji wrote: "We are too many and we have so many idle hours at our disposal that it would be suicidal to make use of mechanical power and allow human power to run to waste" (p. 388). With the insight of a genius, Gandhiji thus raised the central issue in the debate over the economic development of an over-populated country like India: labour-intensive *versus* capital-intensive plans of development. Gandhiji was no dogmatist, however, and did not rule out heavy industries altogether. In another letter to Visvesvarayya, he admitted that "the heavy industries cannot be organized without power-driven machinery", and added: "I can have no quarrel with such use of machinery" (p. 435). At a meeting of the Subjects Committee during the Con-

gress session he put the matter in a nutshell: "We do want machines but do not wish to become their slaves. We should make the machine our slave. 'Our slave' means slave not of the rich but of the poor" (p. 225).

At the heart of the economic problem lay a fundamental moral issue, the individual in relation to his economic activity. Gandhiji refused to share the assumption of "the economic man" which was the first premise of all orthodox economic theory. "The aim of our khadi organizations", he told a group of khadi workers, "is to attain not merely *preya* but *shreya* for the people", not merely material comfort but moral well-being. The economics of khadi, he said, was based on the benevolence "which is inherent in human nature" and recognized the fact that the spinner "is not a lifeless machine but a human being." "Her yarn must be dear to us, for it has been sanctified by her honest labour. A mill product . . . cannot bring us this spiritual satisfaction" (pp. 205-6). Gandhiji interpreted the ancient Indian ideal of the varna system in terms of such a society devoted to the pursuit of *shreya*. "Fulfilment of the law", Gandhiji contended, "would make life livable, would spread peace and content, end all clashes and conflicts, put an end to starvation and pauperization, solve the problem of population and even end disease and suffering" (p. 64). Of all the four classes, the Shudra who obeyed this law and performed "body-labour in a spirit of service and duty" was, according to Gandhiji, "worthy of the world's homage"; he was "lord of all" because he was "the greatest servant" (p. 66). A willing and dutiful observance of the system, Gandhiji asserted, would be "true socialism". It was "equality of the spirit, without which no other equality is possible" (p. 67). "Under such dispensation," he says, "all property will he held by its respective holders in trust for the community" (p. 66). This idea of trusteeship was, henceforward, to become a recurring theme in Gandhiji's writings and utterances on the subject of the economic reconstruction of India. It was based on his faith in human nature and its capacity for moral growth. Trusteeship might be a legal fiction, Gandhiji told Nirmal Kumar Bose, but "if people meditate over it constantly and try to act up to it, then life on earth would be governed far more by love than it is at present" (p. 318). While the Socialists, according to Nirmal Kumar Bose, believed that "men live more by habit than by will", Gandhiji held that, though "man actually lives by habit", "it is better for him to live by the exercise of will" and that "men are capable of developing their will to an extent that will reduce exploitation to a

minimum." Concentration of power in the hands of the State would destroy this moral potential of man. "I look upon an increase of the power of the State with the greatest fear," Gandhiji said, "because although while apparently doing good by minimizing exploitation, it does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality, which lies at the root of all progress" (p. 319). State ownership was objectionable, in Gandhiji's eyes, "on the ground of violence" also, for, he argued, "if the State suppressed capitalism by violence, it will be caught in the coils of violence itself. . . . The individual has a soul, but as the State is a soulless machine, it can never be weaned from violence to which it owes its very existence" (p. 318).

Gandhiji's faith in the possibility of moral growth in man rested, in the last analysis, on his faith in the power of truth and non-violence. As he said to Nirmal Kumar Bose, "Every expression of truth has in it the seeds of propagation, even as the sun cannot hide its light" (p. 320). And along with truth, non-violence was "the activest force in the world" (p. 42). Truth, he told a correspondent, "is always beautiful." It was the whole of art. "Art divorced from truth is no art, and beauty divorced from truth is utter ugliness" (p. 328). In human relationships, too, Gandhiji valued truth above everything else. Writing to an inmate of the Ashram, he says: "I regard untruth to be a greater sin than sexual immorality" (p. 59). To V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, he wrote: "Your truthfulness is far more precious for me than your mere co-operation in my activities" (p. 362). On a deeper level in his own life, Gandhiji's concern for truthfulness permitted spontaneous growth in his views and ideas, unfettered by artificial consistency. "I am a votary of truth", he says in the introduction to *Varnavyavastha*, "and I must say what I feel and think at a given moment on the question, without regard to what I may have said before on it. . . . I . . . follow to the best of my ability what seems to be the truth at a given time" (pp. 61-2). Gandhiji's faith in non-violence is seen at its best in his reactions to the withdrawal of the Temple-entry Bill in the Legislative Assembly by its mover. The sanatanists were jubilant. "We must not mind their joy", Gandhiji advised the reformers. "Only yesterday we were what they are today." Quoting from Æ's *Interpreters* a passage on the "magical transforming power" of both love and hate, he said: "Love is the only thing that can transform the sanatanists." And "let us realize", he added, "that in their victory lies their defeat; in our humiliation lies our victory" (p. 164). Commenting on the hard-heartedness of "the fanatic Hindus" in a

village in Gujarat in their treatment of Harijans, Gandhiji asks: "How to overcome such utter ignorance? Ahimsa seems defeated and love seems to dry up." But he reminds the readers, ahimsa "is true ahimsa only if it keeps shining even in the midst of darkness all around. The remedy for *himsa* is ahimsa, for hatred love and for untruth truth, as the remedy for cold is sunshine" (p. 69).

Gandhiji was exercising similar forbearance in the political sphere, too. On his advice, civil disobedience had been suspended and the Congress had resolved, "in furtherance of the spirit of non-violence, to submit to repressive laws" in so far as it was "humanly possible to do so" (p. 436). But the repression went on unabated. Gandhiji was determined "to live down these irritations . . ." That appeared to him "just now the best form of resistance . . ." (pp. 275-6). His "power of endurance", however, Gandhiji told an English friend, "is being tested beyond my capacity" (p. 436). The Government had refused to let him visit the Frontier Province, though he had assured the Viceroy that his only "object . . . is to be with its people, to know them at first hand and to understand how far the teaching of non-violence by Khan Saheb Abdul Ghaffar Khan has permeated his followers" (p. 348). He endeavoured "to avoid every occasion for civil disobedience of authority, in so far as it is humanly possible to do so." "If suspicion of my motive is the cause of refusal," he said, "I shall try to disarm the suspicion" (p. 443). In this struggle to exercise the utmost patience in face of the calculated affronts of the Government, Gandhiji's ahimsa seems to be attaining a new capacity which was to assume almost superhuman proportion in a few years when he was called upon to swallow the poison of communal strife.

Among the letters in this volume are some to Harilal and one to Ramdas, which reveal the father's heart in Gandhiji. After more than twenty years of estrangement from him, Harilal had returned and was promising to turn over a new leaf in his life. Gandhiji was greatly pleased. "If", he wrote to Harilal, "there has really been a change of heart in you such as you describe, . . . I will . . . completely forget your past" (p. 27). "If the change . . . endures," he said in another letter, "a painful episode in my life would end and I would be extremely happy in this the last stage of my life." "I can't stop thinking about you all the time", Gandhiji confessed. "Maybe, father's love doesn't fall away from even a devotee of Mother *Gita*, or perhaps the *Gita* teaches that I should be thus concerned with you." But, as always,

for Gandhiji the dictates of dharma came before the ties of affection and love. "I wish to help you as much as I can", he told Harilal, "consistently with my dharma" (pp. 187-8). He was so much exercised over the problem that one day he woke up at 2.30 and, he told Harilal, "started thinking about my dharma towards you." "Let there be this understanding between you and me", he said. "If at any time you break your word to me or if it is proved that you have deceived me, I should fast for at least seven days" (pp. 110-1). In the letter to Ramdas, Gandhiji explains how his love for Kasturba and for the sons had been a protecting force in his striving for purity of mind. "I know", he said, "that I have never withheld my soul from you brothers. I strove to remain pure for your sakes even when I did not do that for anybody else." Referring to the deficiency in their formal education, which was an "unavoidable" result of "the new experiments" Gandhiji "had embarked upon", he confessed: ". . . in the measure that you feel discontented on that account, I also feel unhappy. If you and your brothers did not feel the deficiency, I would count myself blessed as a father" (p. 145).

The volume offers numerous illustrations of the exacting standards in public and private life that Gandhiji held up for co-workers. Acting on the principle that a "mistake must be rectified when it is realized" (p. 420), Gandhiji had advised Kaka Kalelkar to resign as Trustee of the Gujarat Vidyapith for having stated in a letter to the Collector of Ahmedabad, without consulting the other Trustees before writing the letter, that the Trustees of the Vidyapith desired to gift the books in the Vidyapith library to the Ahmedabad Municipality. Kalelkar's resignation led to serious misunderstanding among many co-workers and was attributed to Vallabhbhai's opposition to him; Kakasaheb even decided to leave Gujarat. Gandhiji, however, felt that "since Vallabhbhai's name has been connected with Kaka's desire to leave Gujarat and his good name has suffered, it has become all the more Kaka's duty not to leave Gujarat" (p. 60). He was also very much distressed when he heard that Jamnalal Bajaj was thinking of buying a cloth mill and wrote to him an urgent letter dissuading him from such a course. "If you wish to earn more money", he said, "so that you may spend it for public good, we shall do without such contribution" (p. 85). He was happy to observe, Gandhiji said in a second letter, that Mrs. Bajaj and the children were upset by "the fear of that tiger" and was glad to hear that Jamnalal had "saved" himelf "from the unhappy business of buying a mill" (p. 131). To another co-worker Gandhiji wrote: "You know

how particular I am about prompt attention to all matters referring to account-keeping" (p. 45). "A trustee", he advised S. Ganesan, "has to take the role of a miser in regard to his trust" (p. 314). Criticizing "a notice in praise of khadi" which appeared in a newspaper for "its clumsy and inadequate presentation" of the case for khadi, Gandhiji said: "... this comes from want of exactness due to inadequate appreciation of truth" (pp. 127 and 129). Advising Premabehn Kantak not to widen the field of her work and to see that it struck deep root, Gandhiji complained that we were "content to sow and reap grass" in the field of service as on the land. If they avoided this mistake, he suggested, "the fruit-trees which grow will give shade and generation after generation will eat the fruits" (p. 132).

Consistently with his ideal that if "men and women can never live together without getting disturbed by sex attractions, their *brahmacharya* is not *brahmacharya*", Gandhiji saw no harm in men helping in running women's institutions. "There must be some men who have something of the woman too in them" (p. 57). Freedom of association between boys and girls was, Gandhiji told another correspondent, "implied in our experiment" which was based on the truth "that the *atman* is its own friend or enemy." This experiment in freedom of association between men and women in the field of public service was part of Gandhiji's search for truth, and he was confident that if "we ... don't give up our worship of truth, it will be well with us in the end" (p. 59). He was fully aware of the difficulties of the search. The "expedition in search of God or Truth", he said in another context, "is infinitely more than numberless Himalayan expeditions", but, for that very reason, "much more interesting" (p. 44).

Writing to a follower of Sri Aurobindo, Gandhiji suggests that Sri Aurobindo's path and his own might appear different but were not really so, and asks: "How innumerable are the lines which lead from the circumference of a circle to its centre?" (p. 75)

NOTE TO THE READER

In reproducing English material, every endeavour has been made to adhere strictly to the original. Obvious typographical errors have been corrected and words abbreviated in the text generally spelt out. Variant spellings of names have, however, been retained as in the original.

Matter in square brackets has been supplied by the Editors. Quoted passages, where these are in English, have been set up in small type and printed with an indent. Indirect reports of speeches and interviews, as also passages which are not by Gandhiji have been set up in small type. In reports of speeches and interviews slight changes and omissions, where necessary, have been made in passages not attributed to Gandhiji.

While translating from Gujarati and Hindi, efforts have been made to achieve fidelity and also readability in English. Where English translations are available, they have been used with such changes as were necessary to bring them into conformity with the original.

The date of an item has been indicated at the top right-hand corner; if the original is undated, the inferred date is supplied within square brackets, the reasons being given where necessary. The date given at the end of an item alongside the source is that of publication. The writings are placed under the date of publication, except where they carry a date-line or where the date of writing has special significance and is ascertainable.

References to Volume I of this series are to the January 1969 edition.

In the source-line, the symbol S.N. stands for documents available in the Sabarmati Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad; G. N. refers to documents, M.M.U. to the reels of the Mobile Microfilm Unit and S. G. to the photostats of the Sevagram collection available in the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and Sangrahalaya, New Delhi; C. W. denotes documents secured by the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi.

The Appendices provide background material relevant to the text. A list of sources and a chronology for the period covered by the volume are also provided at the end.

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CONTENTS

1. LETTER TO DUNICHAND

WARDHA,
September 16, 1934

DEAR LALA DUNICHAND,

You have come to the wrong man. Do you know that I rarely attend the meetings of the Parliamentary Board[1]? In their selection of individual candidates I have absolutely no part. I have been involved in solving the problem of Malaviyaji's party.[2] You have rightly written exhaustively to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Let him consider the question. This matter of selection is absolutely beyond me.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

LALA DUNICHAND, B.A.
KRIPA NIVAS
AMBALA CITY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

2. LETTER TO SHANTA PATEL

September 16, 1934

CHI. SHANTA[3],

I am returning your letter with this. I can't understand why you want it back. I have explained all my reasons to Maganbhai. I will not, therefore, spend time in repeating them here. You will get my blessings. Isn't that enough?[4] Have you informed Lakshmidasbhai?

[1] The Parliamentary Board was formed in May 1934, with Dr. M. A. Ansari as President "to run and control" elections to the Legislative Assembly.

[2] Madan Mohan Malaviya and M. S. Aney had formed a separate party to carry on agitation against the Communal Award.

[3] Daughter of Shankarbhai Patel

[4] The addressee had asked for permission to marry a boy of her own choice not belonging to her caste.

What are you studying at present? I hope you know that Ba is there just now, and also that Ramdas is ill.

Blessings from
BAPU

SMT. SHANTABEHN SHANKARBHAI PATEL
JAMES VILLA
ELLIS BRIDGE
AHMEDABAD[1]

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4071. Also C.W. 22. Courtesy: Shanta Patel

3. *LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL*

[*September 16, 1934*][2]

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I got your letter. The Kaka affair has become a painful one. But you should laugh away the thing. It will all subside by and by. I think there is no malice behind the outcry. I am trying to calm it and hope to succeed. There is nothing but simple misunderstanding behind the whole affair. I will not let Kaka go in this manner. I have sent you a copy of the letter[3] I have written to Mavalankar.

Kaka has been laid up with fever from the very next day after he arrived here. The temperature has not come down even once. It was above 100° this morning. It rises to 102°. There are no other symptoms, except cold and a little cough. There is some fear that it may be typhoid. Write a brief note to him.

Jones[4] is better but not quite well. Write a few lines to him also. Dr. Khan Saheb[5] examines him.

Both the brothers went to Akola yesterday. They were dragged to Khamgaon from there. They were to return today, but now they will return tomorrow.

I am sending a letter from Lala Sham Lal for you to read.

[1] The address is supplied from the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary.

[2] From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary

[3] *Vide* Vol. LVIII, pp. 452-3.

[4] Stanley Jones, an American missionary

[5] Elder brother of Abdul Ghaffar Khan

It seems there has been some haste in regard to Dunichand.[1] There was another wire from him.

Blessings from
BAPU

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL
89 WARDEN ROAD
BOMBAY

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 132

4. LETTER TO K.

September 16, 1934

CHI. K.[2],

. . . 's[3] is a pathetic tale. . . .[4] has badly deceived us. . . . was simply enticed. Of course, she too was at fault. Ultimately, we may say . . . fled from here. He did not even see me before leaving; he had told many lies too. Even in Sabarmati he had been given to self-indulgence. The whole affair is deplorable. . . . seems to be a simple innocent girl like any other Malabar girl. It seems somewhat risky to keep her here. Anyway her husband must be informed, but I do not wish to take any step without consulting you. You may come over here if that is ncessary. There is no cause for panic. . . . is well looked after. I meet her now almost daily. Her letter is enclosed.

[From Hindi]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

5. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

WARDHAGANJ,
September 17, 1934

The rumour that I had contemplated severing all physical connection with the Congress was true. However, for considerations urged by many friends who had come to Wardha during

[1] *Vide* p. 1.
[2], [3] & [4] The names have been omitted.

the meetings of the Working Committee and the Parliame tary Board last week, I agreed with them that it might be saf for me to leave the Congress, if at all, after the forthcomi session. There was an intermediate course suggested by Panc Govind Vallabh Pant and Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai of remaini in the Congress without participating in the active administrati of the organization but both Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Maula Abul Kalam Azad strongly disapproved of that course. Sard Vallabhbhai had agreed with me that the time had arrived f me to retire from the Congress but many others would not endor that view.

After due consideration of all the pros and cons I ha adopted the safe and prudent course of postponing the final ste at least till after the meeting of the Congress session in Octobe

One tempting idea behind the insistence on postponeme was that it would enable me to test the accuracy of my impre sion that a very large body of Congress intelligentsia were tire of my method and views, and the programme based upon them, th I was a hindrance rather than a help to the natural growth the Congress, that instead of remaining the most democratic ar representative institution in the country, the Congress had degen rated into an organization dominated by my one personality ar that in it there was no free play of reason.

If I am to test the truth or otherwise of my impressio naturally I must put before the public the reason on which m impression was based and my own proposals based thereon. Co gressmen might vote on them and thus clearly register their opinio I must try to do this as briefly as I can.

It has appeared to me that there is a growing and vit difference of outlook between many Congressmen and myself.

I seem to be going in a direction just opposite of what mar of the most intellectual Congressmen would gladly and enthusia tically take, if they were not hampered by their unexample loyalty to me. No leader can expect greater loyalty and devotic than I have received from intellectually-minded Congressmen eve when they have protested and signified their disapproval of th policies I have laid before the Congress. For me any more to dra upon this loyalty and devotion is to put undue strain upon then

Their loyalty cannot blind my eyes to what appears to m to be fundamental differences between the Congress intelligentsi and me.

Let me state them. I put the spinning-wheel and khadi i the forefront. Hand-spinning by the Congress intelligentsia ha

all but disappeared. The general body of them have no faith in it and yet if I could carry their reason with me, I would substitute the four-anna franchise by personal daily hand-spinning. The khadi clause of the Congress constitution has been almost a dead letter from the beginning and Congressmen have not been wanting who have reminded me that I am responsible for the hypocrisy and evasion about the working of the khadi clause. I ought to have realized that it was not passed out of deep conviction, but largely out of personal loyalty to me. I must own that there is considerable force in the argument.

Nevertheless my conviction is growing that if India is to win complete independence in terms of the toiling millions and through unadulterated non-violence, the spinning-wheel and khadi have to be as natural to the educated few as to the partially unemployed and semi-starved millions, who, for not using their hands for the purpose for which nature has endowed man with them, have become almost like beasts of burden. The spinning-wheel is thus an emblem of human dignity and equality in the truest sense of the term. It is the handmaid of agriculture. It is the nation's second lung. We are perishing because we are using only one lung. Yet only a few Congressmen have a living faith in the Indiawide potency of the wheel.

The removal of the khadi clause in the constitution would mean a removal of the living link between the Congress and the millions whom it has from its inception sought to represent and yet if it remains it has to be rightly enforced; but it cannot be, if a substantial majority of Congressmen have no living faith in it.

Take again the Parliamentary Board. Though the author of non-co-operation I am convinced that in the present circumstances of the country and in the absence of any general scheme of civil resistance, a Parliamentary Party within the Congress is the necessary part of any programme that may be framed by the Congress but there are sharp differences of opinion among us on that point. The force with which I urged the programme at the A. I. C. C. meeting in Patna,[1] I know, oppressed many of our best colleagues but they hesitated to act according to their own conviction.

Up to a point suppression of one's views in favour of those of another considered superior in wisdom or experience is virtuous and desirable for healthy growth of an organization. It

[1] *Vide* Vol. LVIII., pp. 9-12.

becomes a terrible oppression when one is called upon to repeat the performance from day to day.

Though I have never wished any such untoward result, I cannot conceal from me or the public the tragic fact that such has been my own experience. Many have despaired of resisting me. This is a humiliating revelation to me, a born democrat. I make that claim if a complete identification with the poorest of mankind, an intense longing to live no better than they and a corresponding conscious effort to approach that level to the best of one's ability can entitle one to make it.

I have welcomed the formation of the Socialist Group.[1] Many of them are respected and self-sacrificing co-workers. With all this, I have fundamental differences with them on the programme published in their authorized pamphlets. But I would not by reason of the moral pressure I may be able to exert suppress the spread of ideas propounded in their literature. I may not interfere with the free expression of those ideas however distasteful some of them may be to me.

If they gain ascendancy in the Congress, as they well may, I cannot remain in the Congress. For me to be in active opposition should be unthinkable. Though I have identified myself with many organizations during a long period of public service I have never accepted that position.

Then there is the policy advocated by some in regard to the States which is wholly different from what I have advised. I have given many an anxious hour to the question but I have not been able to alter my view.

Even on untouchability my method of approach is perhaps different from that of many if not most Congressmen. For me, it is a deeply religious and moral issue. Many think that it was a profound error for me to have disturbed the course of the civil resistance struggle by taking up the question in the manner and at the time I did. I feel that I would have been untrue to myself, if I had taken any other course.

Last of all take non-violence. After 14 years of trial it still remains a policy with the majority of Congressmen whereas it is a fundamental creed with me. That Congressmen do not still regard non-violence as a creed is no fault of theirs. It is undoubtedly my faulty presentation and still more faulty execution that are responsible for this failure. I have no conscious-

[1] The Congress Socialist Party was formed at Patna in May 1934.

ness of faulty presentation or execution. But it is the only possible inference from the fact that it has not yet become an integral part of the lives of Congressmen.

And if there is uncertainty about non-violence there must be still more about civil resistance. In spite of my 27 years of study and practice of the doctrine, I cannot claim to know all about it. The field of research is necessarily limited as occasions for civil resistance in a man's life must not be frequent. It can only come after voluntary obedience to authority, whether of parents, teachers or other elders, religious or secular. There need be no wonder that as the only expert, however imperfect among us, I should have come to the conclusion that it should for some time to come be limited only to me. This was necessary in order to minimize errors and mischief proceeding from them as also to explore its hidden possibilities. But again for no fault of Congressmen it has been increasingly difficult for me to carry the reason of fellow Congressmen with me in all resolutions[1] recently passed on the subject, while they have generously voted for them.

Even the memory of the sense of opposition which they experienced at the time of voting without an intelligent belief in these resolutions oppresses me just as much as they were oppressed. They and I must be free from this oppression if we are all to grow in pursuit of what we believe to be the common goal. Hence it is necessary for all concerned to act freely and boldly according to their convictions.

I have in my Patna statement[2], recommending the suspension of civil resistance, drawn attention to the failure of civil resistance to achieve two obvious results. If we had the full non-violent spirit in us it should have been self-evident and should not have escaped the notice of the Government that their ordinances were certainly not warranted by any of the 'misdeeds' done by or imputed to us. They were undoubtedly intended to break our spirits anyhow, but it would be wrong if we contended that civil resisters were above reproach. If we were non-violent through and through our non-violence would have been self-evident.

Nor were we able to show to the terrorists that we had greater faith in our non-violence than they in their violence. On the contrary many of us made them feel that we had the same spirit of violence in our breasts that they had. Only we did not believe in deeds of violence.

[1&2] *Vide* Vol. LVIII.

Terrorists rightly argued that if the spirit of violence was common to both, the policy of doing or not doing violence was a matter of opinion. I need not repeat what I have said before that the country has made great strides towards non-violence indeed and that many have exhibited great courage and self-sacrifice. All I want to say is that ours has not been unadulterated non-violence in thought, word and deed.

It is now my paramount duty to devise ways and means of showing demonstrably to the Government and the terrorists the efficacy of non-violence as a means of achieving the right thing including freedom in every sense of the term.

For this experiment, to which my life is dedicated, I need complete detachment and absolute freedom of action. Satyagraha, of which civil resistance is but a part, is to me the universal law of life. 'Satya', in truth, is my God. I can only search Him through non-violence and in no other way and the freedom of my country as of the world is surely included in the search for truth. I cannot suspend this search for anything in this world or another.

I have entered political life in pursuit of this search and if it cannot carry reason as well as heart of the educated Congressmen when I say that this search necessarily includes complete independence, and many other things which may be part of truth, it is plain I should work single-handed in implicit faith that what I fail to make clear to my countrymen today shall be clear to them some day of itself or, if God wills it, through some apt word He may put in my mouth or some apt work which He may prompt me to do.

In matters of such tremendous importance a mechanical vote or a grudging assent will be wholly inadequate if not injurious to the cause itself.

I have referred to the common goal, but I have begun to doubt if all Congressmen understand the same thing by the expression complete independence. I want for India complete independence in the full English sense of that English expression. For me *poorna* swaraj has an infinitely larger meaning than complete independence, but even *poorna* swaraj is not self-explained. No one word or compound expression will give us a meaning which all can understand. Hence on several occasions I have given several definitions of swaraj. I hold that they are all true, not at all self-contradictory. They are all hopelessly incomplete even when put together, but I do not wish to labour this point further.

My mention of the difficulty, if not impossibility, of giving a complete definition leads me to another serious point of difference between many Congressmen and myself.

I have always said since 1908 that means and end are convertible terms and that, therefore, where the means are various and even contradictory the end must be different and even contradictory. We have always control over the means, never on the end, but may not bother about its content if we all employ identical means with identical connotation for them. It will be admitted that many Congressmen do not admit this, to me the obvious truth. They believe that end justifies means whatever they may be.

It is the sum total of these differences which has sterilized the existing Congress programme because members who gave their lip-assent to it, without believing in it, have naturally failed to reduce it to practice and yet I have no other programme save the Congress programme now before the country. Untouchability, Hindu-Muslim unity, total prohibition, hand-spinning with khadi and cent per cent swadeshi in the sense of the revival of village industries and general reorganization of seven lakhs of villages ought to give all satisfaction that one's love of one's country may demand.

Personally I would like to bury myself in an Indian village, preferably in a Frontier village. If the Khudai Khidmatgars are truly non-violent they will contribute the largest share to the promotion of non-violent spirit and of Hindu-Muslim unity, for if they are non-violent in thought, word and deed and are lovers of Hindu-Muslim unity, surely through them we should see the accomplishment of the two things we need most in this land. The Afghan menace which we dread so much should then be a thing of the past.

I am, therefore, yearning to test the truth for myself of the claim that they have imbibed the spirit of non-violence and are believers in the heart-unity of Hindus, Mussalmans and others. I should like also personally to deliver the message of the spinning-wheel to them. In this and various such other ways I would love to serve the Congress in my own humble manner, whether I am in it or outside.

I have reserved to the last any reference to the growing corruption in our ranks. I have already said enough about it in public. In spite of all I have said the Congress still remains in my estimation the most powerful and most representative organization in the country. It has a history of uninterrupted noble

service and self-sacrifice. From its inception it has weathered storms, as no other institution has done. It has commanded a measure of self-sacrifice of which any country would be proud. It holds today the largest number of devoted men and women of unimpeachable character. If I must leave this organization I shall not do so without a wrench and I should do it only when I am convinced that by being outside I would serve it, that is, the country better than by being in it.

I propose to test the feeling of the Congress on all the points I have touched by placing before the Subjects Committee certain resolutions giving effect to the views enunciated above.

The first amendment I would propose is to replace the words "legitimate and peaceful" by the words 'truthful and non-violent'. I should not have done so but for the purpose of the opposition which was raised against the utterly innocent use by me of the two adjectives in place of "legitimate and peaceful". If Congressmen really believe in the necessity of truthfulness and non-violence for the attainment of our goal they should have no hesitation about accepting the unequivocal adjectives.

The second amendment would be to replace the four-anna franchise by the delivery, by every member to a Congress depot, of 2,000 rounds (one round equal to four feet) per month of well-twisted even yarn of not less than 15 counts spun by himself or herself. On proof of poverty, with enough cotton for spinning the requisite quantity, the arguments for and against need not be repeated here. If we are to be a truly democratic body representing even the lowest paid labourer, we cannot do it better than by devising a simple labour franchise.

Hand-spinning is by common consent the lowest paid labour and yet the most dignified. It is the nearest approach to adult franchise, within the means of almost everyone who is willing to labour for the sake of the country for half an hour daily. Is it too much to expect the intelligentsia and propertied classes to recognize the dignity of labour irrespective of the material benefit it brings? Is not labour, like learning, its own reward? If we are true servants of the masses, we would take pride in spinning for their sakes.

I recall what the late Maulana Mahomed Ali used to repeat from many a platform. As the sword was the symbol, he would say, of brute force and might, the wheel or the *takli* was the symbol of non-violence, service and humility. When the wheel was accepted as part of the National Flag it was surely implied that the spinning-wheel would hum in every household. If Congress-

men do not believe in the message of the wheel, we must remove it from the National Flag and khaddar from the constitution. It is intolerable that there should be unashamed fraud in the observance of the khaddar clause.

The third amendment I should propose would be that no one shall be entitled to vote to any Congress election whose name has not been on the Congress register continuously for six months without default and who has not been a habitual wearer wholly of khaddar for that period. Great difficulty has been experienced in the working of the khaddar clause. It can be easily avoided by giving powers, subject to appeal to the President of the Congress, to the chairmen of the respective committees to decide the question as to whether a particular voter is or is not a habitual wearer wholly of khaddar within the meaning of the constitution. No one is to be considered such a wearer who at the time of voting is not manifestly wholly clad in khaddar. But no rule however carefully and strictly worded can produce satisfactory results if a large number do not voluntarily carry it out.

Experience has shown that the Congress is an unwieldy organization even with 6,000 delegates. In practice the full number has never attended the Congress and when this Congress register nowhere contains a truly representative list the delegation can hardly be claimed to be as reality.

I would, therefore, have an amendment for the purpose of reducing the number to not more than 1,000 delegates, not more than one delegate per every thousand voters. To have full number of delegates would mean one million voters, not an overambitious hope in a country having a population of 315 millions. The Congress would by this amendment gain in substance what it may lose in the show of numbers.

The spectacular part of the session would be kept intact by making ample provision for visitors, but the Reception Committees will be spared the wholly unnecessary anxiety of having to provide accommodation for an unwieldy number of delegates. Let us recognize the fact that the Congress enjoys prestige, democratic character and influence not by the number of the delegates and visitors it has drawn to its annual functions but by the ever increasing amount of service it has rendered.

Western democracy is on its trial, if it has not already proved a failure. May it not be reserved to India to evolve the true science of democracy by giving a visible demonstration of this fitness? Corruption and hypocrisy ought not to be inevitable

products of democracy as they undoubtedly are today; nor bulk a true test of democracy.

True democracy is not inconsistent with a few persons representing the spirit, the hope and the aspirations of those whom they claim to represent. I hold that democracy cannot be evolved by forcible methods. The spirit of democracy cannot be imposed from without. It has to come from within.

I have mentioned here only the principal amendments I should propose in the constitution. There would be other resolutions bringing out clearly the points I have touched upon in the foregoing paras. I don't need to burden this statement with them.

My fear is that even the amendments I have named will hardly commend themselves to the large number of Congressmen who will attend the Congress. Nevertheless if I am to guide the policy of the Congress I hold them and the resolutions in keeping with the spirit of this statement to be essential for the earliest attainment of our goal.

No voluntary organization can succeed in its purpose without its resolutions and policies being carried out whole-heartedly by its members and no leader can give a good account of himself if his lead is not faithfully, ungrudgingly and intelligently followed and this is true of a leader who has no resource at his disposal but what truth and non-violence can supply.

It follows, therefore, that there is no room for compromise on the essentials of the programme I have endeavoured to adumbrate in these paras. Let Congressmen, therefore, examine it dispassionately and on its merits. They must eliminate me from their consideration and give effect to the dictates of their reason.

The Bombay Chronicle, 18-9-1934

6. *LETTER TO TAN YUN-SHAN*

September 17, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your two letters. I was unable to overtake yours of 4th September before now. I wish you every success in your mission of love in China. I have no doubt that all individual effort in the direction of mutual understanding will bear fruit in the long run. You shall certainly correspond with me as often as you like, and I shall endeavour to reply to your letters as soon as I can. I hope that it will be possible for you to return to India to continue your work. And when you return, you shall certainly stay with me if I am still free and settled at one place. I had your book which of course is hieroglyphics to me, I am sorry to say.

PROF. TAN YUN-SHAN
SANTINIKETAN

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

7. *LETTER TO MAHESH CHARAN MOWAR*

September 17, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. The way to prove the truth of the statement I have made is not by coining conundrums which cannot be satisfactorily solved, but to see the working of God's will in His helpless creation. Man ever proposes, but God always disposes. All our best plans are reduced to naught in less than the twinkling of an eye.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI MAHESH CHARAN MOWAR, B.A.,LL. B.
PLEADER, MAINPURI (U. P.)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

8. *LETTER TO L. G. KHARE*

September 17, 1934

MY DEAR KHARE,

If you succeed in producing a reliable directory of village industries at the ridiculously low price of one anna, you will help the cause of cent per cent swadeshi and confer a boon on those who want to serve it. You will supply a felt want.

SHRI L. G. KHARE
EDITOR, "SWADESHI"
ALL-INDIA SWADESHI SANGH
SWADESHI MARKET, BOMBAY 2

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

9. *LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA*

September 17, 1934

DEAR SATISBABU,

I am sending you a letter received from Dar-ul-Aman by used correspondence post. Herewith enclosed is a copy of my reply[1]. Do you know anything about this association?

I have commenced using your ink. It promises to give satisfaction, but I must gain more experience of it. Mahadev is, however, conducting a more critical examination.

I hope you have now got books and papers from Satcowrie-babu.

Encl. 1

SHRI SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA
CALCUTTA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] Not available

10. A LETTER

September 17, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I have a pathetic letter from your son and he tells me that you refuse to return to India till swaraj is established. Now no one knows what swaraj is. If it is merely usurping power from the present rulers, I for one would not be satisfied that we had swaraj. But in one sense swaraj was established when the Congress adopted the constitution[1] of 1920 and the policy laid down in virtue of it. I do hope, therefore, that for the sake of your wife and your son, you will return as soon as you can and perform your duty by them as a part of the scheme of swaraj.

Yours sincerely,

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

11. LETTER TO VIDYA PARKASH

September 17, 1934

DEARFRIEND,

I have your letter of the 25th ultimo. I well remember your previous letter. But I have been under the impression that I had already sent you my reply enclosing a letter for your father. It is just likely that the letter like many of my letters written during the hurricane tour[2] has gone astray. Here is a letter addressed to your father.[3] You will please send it to him. I take it that you will treat the letter as confidential.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

SHRI VIDYA PARKASH
LATH BUILDINGS
RISHINAGAR, LAHORE

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* Vol. XIX, pp. 190-8.

[2] Harijan tour which began on November 7, 1933 and concluded on August 2, 1934

[3] *Vide* the preceding item.

12. LETTER TO LALCHAND NAVALRAI

September 17, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. The way in which Harijan purses collected in different provinces are used is by provinces sending to the Central Board[1] their schemes for approval, and these schemes come to me whenever it is thought necessary by the Central Board. You will have, therefore, to convince the Provincial Board of the soundness of your suggestion, and in doing so you will have to show to the Board that your scheme can be worked with the funds at the Local Board's disposal and consistently with the continuation of the work they have started.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI LALCHAND NAVALRAI, M.L.A.
ADVOCATE, LARKANA (SIND)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

13. LETTER TO F. MARY BARR

September 17, 1934

CHI. MARY,[2]

I have your letter. In his letter Rajbhoj has used the expression 'Brahmin' to mean non-Harijan Hindus. The Board does not consist exclusively of Brahmins; it has non-Brahmins also. Nevertheless you should remember that the Board contains only workers and not those who want prominence or cheap credit. Strange as it may appear, the largest amount of sacrifice is still to be found among Brahmins, if it is also true that Brahmins are the stumbling-block in the way of progress of the campaign against untouchability. But no provincial organization is wholly confined to Brahmins.

[1] Of the Harijan Sevak Sangh

[2] The superscription in this and other letters addressed to Mary Barr is in the Devanagari script.

As to the second objection, you will be glad to know that there is no Harijan Board which does not contain at least one Harijan, and in several organizations there are many. There are hundreds of Harijan Boards affiliated to the Central Board. I can claim no merit or credit for this event. If I could have helped it, I should certainly have confined all these boards exclusively to non-Harijans. In the place of the word 'penitents' read 'debtors'.[1] Harijans are in the place of creditors. Have you ever heard of a board of debtors containing a sprinkling of creditors? Debtors alone know how to discharge their obligations. Creditors will be the judges as to whether they will give them discharge certificates for the payments they will make. But they would not even be bothered about the meetings of the debtors. They will have their own meetings, their own advisers and the like. And I have invited the Harijans to form their own advisory boards which will become irresistible. They will, if they are compact bodies, dictate their own terms. If you are closely following the *Harijan* from week to week you will understand surely the meaning of what I have said. Marvellous work has been done in the shape of distribution of funds. Harijan Boards are intended to be swiftly moving organizations carrying out their operations without fuss. They are not debating societies. To alter their character would be to turn them into debating societies frittering away time, energy and substance, whereas I want to save every ounce of these solely for the benefit of Harijans. Then and then only will there be no 'you' and 'we', but only 'we'.

You have again returned to your proposal about prayer. The proposal does not appear to me to be feasible. The utmost we have been able to attain in this direction is that we have Mussalman hymns or *bhajans* as also Christian. You may perhaps know that every Friday we have a rendering of "Lead, Kindly Light" in the Ashram and every Thursday we have a very popular Islamic *bhajan*. The *Ashram Bhajanavali*[2] contains several *bhajans* from Mussalman sources and you will find also a selection of Christian hymns. On certain occasions we have Christian and Mussalman prayers. But to make these prayers a daily feature would be entirely mechanical, if not also hypocritical. It would be different if we had a large number of Mussalmans and Christians in the different ashrams. And if we had an ashram predominantly Mussalman or Christian, there will natu-

[1] *Vide* Vol. LVIII, "Letter to P. N. Rajbhoj", pp. 383-4.
[2] *Vide* Vol. XLIV.

rally be generally only Christian or Islamic prayers. The point I am trying to make is to show that the ashrams are not theosophical organizations, but they are organizations which have equal regard for all the religions. I should expect, therefore, non-Hindus in an ashram predominantly Hindu to pay equal respect to the Hindu form of worship. And a predominantly Hindu ashram should never be deliberately exclusive and would be expected to pay particular regard to its few Mussalman or Christian inmates. Ashrams honestly attempt, though they may ever fail, to reach the ideal of equality and growth from within.

Love.

BAPU

MISS MARY BARR
KHEDI SAOLIGARH
BETUL DT.

From a photostat: G.N. 6029. Also C.W. 3358. Courtesy: F. Mary Barr

14. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

September 17, 1934

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I had received your letters. I had long discussions with Andrews. The trouble about Sorabji[1] will go on. But it is desirable that no attacks should be made on the Agent. It would be be tterto write to him confidentially. So far as I can judge from here, attacking him will serve no purpose except giving vent to one's anger. Andrews liked all that you have been doing except the attack on the Agent. Schlesin[2] also didn't like it.

You have suggested that Kanti[3] should be sent over there. But he does not agree to go. He has set his heart on studying.

I believe Ramdas will require a permit. I suspect that they have taken away the rights of even the Colonial-born [Indians]. Ramdas's plans are still uncertain. Just now he has gone to Sabarmati with Ba. He had a fairly serious attack of fever there. It has come down now. He has taken Kanu[4] with him. Since he

[1] Son of Parsee Rustomji
[2] Sonja Schlesin
[3] Son of Harilal Gandhi
[4] Son of Narandas Gandhi

gets good company at Sabarmati, he feels quite cheerful. Kanti has gone far away to Travancore, where he will do Harijan work and study at the same time.

My future plans are uncertain. I shall not be able to leave the Congress immediately. Let us see what happens in October. I cannot say in what direction my dharma will lead me after that. Thus everything regarding me is uncertain. But I don't worry. He who has dedicated his all to Shri Krishna feels at rest in his mind even in the midst of uncertainty. Since I am ceaselessly striving to reach that state, I never suffer from worries. Where there is complete uncertainty about life itself from moment to moment, why worry about other things?

Jalbhai[1] came and saw me. Omar Sheth seems to have lost his all. How did that happen?

Kishorelal[2] and Gomati[3] are here at present. And of course Vasumatibehn too.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

It seems to me all right that Sita[4] should be given whatever [education] is possible there. But if you send her over here I shall certainly make some arrangement.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4826

15. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJEE

September 17, 1934

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

I got your letter. I hope you are fully recovered now.

You have solved all the problems well.

It is best that the cart should move with its natural speed. Can we not say now that it is no more the motor-car age but it is the aeroplane age? But all this rushing about is only for a while. Our legs, however, will remain as long as mankind

[1] Jal Khambhatta

[2] & [3] Kishorelal Mashruwala and his wife

[4] Addressees' daughter

survives. Those who are content with the natural speed of their legs remaining unimpaired will win in the end.

Blessings from
BAPU

SJT. SHANTIKUMAR NAROTTAM MORARJEE
SUDAMA HOUSE
BALLARD ESTATE
BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4724. Courtesy: Shantikumar Morarjee

16. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

September 17, 1934

CHI. BRAJKISHAN,

Your letter. What happens after meeting Damodardas is yet to be seen. Till then I shall remain doubt-ridden. I cannot be just either to Damodardas or to Santok[1] and others. And now you too are involved. Damodardas alleges that you have misunderstood him but I have no doubts about you. My fear in respect of you is of a different kind. You have not realized even now the value of money. In spite of your renunciation, your mind is still that of a moneyed man and not averse to possession. An action performed without the prompting of the heart loses all its value.

I trust you maintain good health there. Prabha[2] has gone to Patna; she might return on Friday.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2424

[1] Widow of Maganlal Gandhi
[2] Prabhavati, wife of Jayaprakash Narayan

17. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

September 17, 1934

CHI. SHARMA,

I have your Hindi letter today. The English letter should arrive tomorrow. I can certainly read all your letters with ease.

I have nothing to say if Ramdas himself desires to be released from your care. In that case you have to come here. I have no idea what is happening there. What is Ba doing? What is her opinion? It is very good that Surendra is there. Whatever happens, you must not lose your peace of mind. I am always aware of all the trouble you have taken for Ramdas. And, as a matter of fact, Ramdas had not been instrumental in your coming to me. That was on account of your nature-cure. Therefore all that we want to do in that respect still remains to be done. We shall discuss it when we meet.

I am returning your letter but not Jamnalalji's which I am destroying.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I am returning Jamnalalji's letter too. Perhaps this is your file copy.

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha*, facing p. 97

18. LETTER TO S. AMBUJAMMAL

September 17, 1934

CHI. AMBUJAM[1],

I have your letter. I am sure I have written a letter or two. It cannot be that you have no letter from me.

Gomati has not mentioned anything about Sharma's illness but the information came through Satyanarayana's letter to Kaka. He must be all right by now.

[1] Daughter of Srinivasa Iyengar

What you write about the *Ramayana* is true.

It would certainly be good if you can come to Wardha even for a few days. I have no objection if you come during the Congress session but then I hardly have time even to look at a person. Ramdas is well. For the time being he will stay at Sabarmati with Ba.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 9597. Courtesy: S. Ambujammal

19. LETTER TO BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

September 18, 1934

BHAI BENARSIDAS,

While looking for something else which I found I came upon your letter of July 21. This could have reached me only during my travels. I had read it and put it away in a special place in order to answer it, thereby defeating that very purpose.

I hope it is not too late even now to answer. You can come whenever you wish and stay as long as you like. I like your opposition. This has never been a ground for keeping you away and it cannot be such now.

Inform me of the date of your arrival. I take it you only want to be with me, but you must not take much of my time as I can spare very little of that commodity.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2515

20. *LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM G. PANSE*

September 18, 1934

CHI. BHAU,

I like the name *Rentia Baras*[1]. We can eradicate poverty and unemployment with the minimum effort if this *sudarshana chakra*[2] of the modern age is plied in every home. And this is possible only if all the villagers spin and wear clothes made out of the yarn they spin.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6753. Also C.W. 4496. Courtesy: Purushottam G. Panse

21. *LETTER TO RAJENDRA PRASAD*

September 18, 1934

BHAI RAJENDRA PRASAD,

I sent through Mahadev the reply to your wire, which Prabhavati must have given you. Later your letter also arrived. I have no recollection whether I replied to your first letter through someone or whether it remained unanswered. These days the work is quite pressing, some rest is also needed. It does not seem proper to make Abdul Ghaffar Khan the President this time. He is a good man and is full of love for the country. He is sincere and self-sacrificing. But he has little experience of the Congress and the session this time involves great responsibility. Among the men devoted to truth and non-violence and commanding popularity I see none but you or Rajagopalachari or Jairamdas. But these two men cannot now be chosen and that leaves only you. Moreover, there is no other choice because of your contribution to the earthquake [relief] work. You have illness in the family as also your financial problem; but are you a family man any more? In other

[1] Gandhiji's birthday according to the Vikram Era, celebrated as Spinning Day

[2] Weapon of Lord Krishna

words, you can serve the family only so far as it is a part of the people at large. The financial problem is almost solved. Jamnalalji is still at Bombay but that should cause no worry.

You should come over here as soon as you can. Come with more time on hand if it is possible to stay over for a few days. Anyway I shall be happy with whatever time you can give me. If the date is fixed for certain I shall try to call Sardar too. You can in no case go to Bombay before October 20. The Khan Brothers will be here during this period and we shall send for any others if their presence is required.

You must have seen my statement[1] in the papers. The relations between Prabhavati and Jayaprakash have to be clarified. Arrangements have been made for her to serve in Wardha but I sent her away on receiving a telegram from Jayaprakash. I have of course told Prabha to discuss everything with you and Brijkishorebabu[2].

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: C.W. 9732. Courtesy: Rajendra Prasad

22. *LETTER TO SHAM LAL*

September 19, 1934

DEAR LALA SHAM LAL,

I have your letter. I am glad that you have such a brilliant prospect in front of you. There can be no question of my asking you to retire at this stage. Retirement can only be in those places where there is demonstrably no chance of success. And in any case these things are not regulated by me. They are regulated by the Parliamentary Board. You need, therefore, have no fear of being abruptly asked by me to retire. You need not be disturbed by my forthcoming talk with Bapuji Aney.[3]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

LALA SHAM LAL
ADVOCATE, ROHTAK (PUNJAB)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* pp. 3-12.
[2] Prabhavati's father
[3] *Vide* "Gandhi-Aney Statement", pp. 38-9.

23. LETTER TO EMMA HARKER

September 19, 1934

DEAR SISTER,

I have your touching letter. If Pierre Ceresole[1] comes from Europe with his contingent, I would certainly like you to join him. I do not like the idea otherwise of your going anywhere, for it will be cruel to expect you to lead the life of the poor, and it will be unfair to the people to put you in a place where they will think that they have to give you more attention than what they are to expect from you. You do not know the difficulties of relief work in the villages of Bihar or Orissa or in any part of the flooded areas. And in the cities hardly any help is required. Therefore I am inclined to think that if Ceresole does not come you should do some service in Karachi itself. Surely Jamshed Mehta can easily inspire you.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

MRS. EMMA HARKER
47 CARLTON HOTEL
KARACHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

24. LETTER TO MATILDA B. KALLON

September 19, 1934

MY DEAR MATTY,

I was talking today with Shyamjibhai about you. He tells me that something would be presently fixed up. But he raises one question. He asked me whether you, though a Christian, would be taking charge of Harijan boys and girls and inculcating in them respect for Hinduism and teaching them the principles regarding Hindu religion to be as true as Christianity. I have

[1] A Swisss engineer who founded the International Service

told him without any hesitation that you are a liberal-minded Christian and that your Christianity is not exclusive but inclusive of all the other great religions. Am I not right? Though I have not written to you for a long time, I suppose you realize that I have not been inactive about you.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI M. B. KALLON
NETTUR, TELLICHERRY
N. MALABAR

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

25. *LETTER TO PADMA*

September 19, 1934

CHI. PADMA[1],

I got your letter. For you I have preserved such coloured sheets. Another such girl is Durga[2]. For her also I preserve coloured sheets. I do not remember to have omitted to reply to any letter of yours.

You will be surprised to know that these days I hardly get time to speak even to the girls here. Girls like you who are away get an occasional letter at least. These girls don't get even that. Do you still envy them?

If your Magan spinning-wheel[3] is out of order, why don't you get it repaired? What has gone wrong? Why can't slivers be made there?

You must also pray regularly.

If stray cattle get into our fields, we should inform their owners and ask them to make good the damage. If they don't listen and the cattle come again, we may certainly have them impounded. If this involves the taint of violence, we should not mind being guilty of it. He who is wise will deduce from this that he should own nothing. He will have no need, then, to impound other people's cattle for his own benefit.

[1] Daughter of Sitla Sahai
[2] Daughter of Dalbahadur Giri of Nepal and Krishnamaiyadevi
[3] A two-spindle wheel plied with foot, invented by Maganlal Gandhi

If a letter which the writer wishes to be treated as private is marked as such, nobody will read it. But what can we have to be kept private?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6149. Also C.W. 3505. Courtesy: Prabhudas Gandhi

26. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

September 19, 1934

BHAI THAKKAR BAPA,

I got your letter regarding Surajbehn. This whole episode has been a painful one. But I hope the pain will be forgotten by and by. I am writing to Bhai Chitalia[1] that Surajbehn may remove the maternity home to his building and start a Seva Mandir. After she has done so she should hand over the key to Gokulbhai.

I understand about the money believed to be lost.

Give the accompanying letter to Lakshmi.[2] Devdas has left a fairly heavy burden on you.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 22757

27. LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI

September 19, 1934

CHI. HARILAL,

I got your letter. If there has really been a change of heart in you such as you describe, my hope has been realized. In that case, I will for my part completely forget your past.

. . .[3] I understand about marrying. If what you want is a companion and that must be a wife, I would not regard it as in the least blameworthy provided you find a suitable widow. There was a widow of 60 who married a man of nearly the same

[1] Karsandas Chitalia

[2] *Vide* p. 30.

[3] Omission as in the source

age. I knew her. Her only motive was desire for companionship. But perhaps there is no need to think about this just now.

HARILAL GANDHI
PORBANDAR

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

28. LETTER TO ANANDSHANKAR B. DHRUVA[1]

September 19, 1934

SUJNA BHAISHRI,

God has saved you and me from a catastrophe. I had recommended ...[2] to you. For eight or nine years all of us thought him to be a good man. He hardly talked with anybody. But he has been found to be a man given to lust and a fraud. He has suddenly left the Ashram. I rarely recommend anybody. When even one like . . . is found to be a man of straw, whom can I recommend?

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

29. LETTER TO BALVANTRAI P. THAKORE

September 19, 1934

BHAI BALUBHAI,

If it is found that the law does not permit it, we shall bear the criticism that may be made. I was of the view that the Trustees had a right to make such a gift[3]. The right to make a gift which would do the Vidyapith no harm but, having regard to the circumstances then prevailing, could only be considered beneficial to it, is implied in the Trust Deed itself. This is, however, a layman's view. Only a competent lawyer's opinion can be regarded as authoritative.

[1] (1869-1942); Sanskrit scholar and Gujarati man of letters; Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Benares Hindu University

[2] The name has been omitted.

[3] Of the Ashram and the Vidyapith books to the Maneklal Jethalal Municipal Library, Ahmedabad; *vide* Vol. LVI, p. 14.

Nor have I expressed pain to anybody with regard to giving away the books. The only question can be, and is, not to do anything which might be improper. I had no other meaning in what I wrote except that if we were making any mistake we should rectify it. Please, therefore, banish that idea from your mind.

If there is delay in preparing a catalogue of the books or in receiving a list from Jivanji, let me know. Can we not make some arrangement, pending the construction of a building, to see that the books are being used?

BALUBHAI
KHADIA
AHMEDABAD

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

30. *LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI*

September 19, 1934

CHI. NARANDAS,

I am enclosing copy of a letter from Harilal. Read it and think over it. The letter seems very good to me. If Harilal has changed as much as he seems to have done, it would be a great thing. You may think about it now. Can he be given some work connected with khadi or Harijan uplift? Call him to you or pay a visit to Porbandar. Let me know what you think after making the necessary inquiries. I have written to Harilal and asked him to write to you. He can be given khadi work only after consulting Ramjibhai. Harijan work can be given after consulting Jivanlal or Nanalal. No pressure should be put on anyone. I would prefer an independent experiment for the present. However, think over the whole matter yourself.

What would you advise regarding his eyes and teeth? Is there anybody there who can attend to them? If there is nobody, he can be looked after and treated in Ahmedabad. There are facilities in regard to both in Ahmedabad.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Read my statement which has appeared in papers and write to me if you have any comments to make.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–9: Shri Narandas Gandhine, Pt. II, pp. 171-2. Also C.W. 84. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

31. LETTER TO LAKSHMI GANDHI

September 19, 1934

CHI. LAKSHMI,

Devdas has gone away but as you have a person like Thakkar Bapa to look after you, I think you do not feel the absence of Devdas over much.

LAKSHMI
DELHI

[From Hindi]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

32. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

September 20, 1934

CHI. PREMA,

I have your letter. Today also I am writing this letter before the morning prayer. I am not doing this as a favour to you. I have stated the fact merely to tell you that I get up now at 3 a.m. as usual and start work immediately. I don't get much time during the day for writing letters. Nobody wakes me up, nor do I have an alarm clock. Mostly I wake up myself. There is a terrace here[1] for sleeping. On both sides of me sleep Amtussalaam, Vasumati, Amala[2], Ba when she is here, Om and Prabhavati.

You seem to be widening your field of activities. I would advise you to do little but do it thoroughly well. Impatience will not help you in village uplift work. Read *Harijan* and/or

[1] Maganwadi

[2] Margarete Spiegel, a German lady

Harijanbandhu regularly. Some other subjects are being discussed in them.

I think I have already written to you about Ba having gone to Sabarmati to look after Ramdas.

If you want, I will send a copy of *Gitai*[1]. Let me have your reactions to my statement.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10360. Also C.W. 6799. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

33. LETTER TO VAMAN G. JOSHI

September 20, 1934

DEAR VAMANRAO[2],

I have your letter.

Without entering into the argument, I give you my replies to your questions.

1. When a man wears clothes made of khadi as a matter of habit, he is a habitual wearer. If, therefore, for any just cause he cannot use khadi on some occasions, he does not cease to be a habitual wearer.

2. But if a person appears at Congress functions in clothes not made of khadi, he will be presumed not to be a habitual wearer of khadi.

3. Habitual wear of clothes made of khadi means all clothes from top to toe made of hand-spun and hand-woven khadi.

4. When it is pointed out to the Chair or when the Chairman of a Congress meeting himself knows that a voter or a candidate is not wearing khadi clothes at that meeting, he is bound to rule that the person is not a habitual wearer in spite of his protestation to the contrary.

Yours sincerely,

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] A metrical rendering of the *Gita* into Marathi by Vinoba Bhave

[2] Vaman Gopal Joshi *alias* Veer Vamanrao, Marathi playwright and President of Berar Pradesh Congress Committee

34. LETTER TO K. SRINIVASAN

September 20, 1934

DEAR SRINIVASAN[1],

Your letter to Mahadev of 8th instant has been on my file ever since its receipt. Your argument, I am sorry to say, does not appeal to me. Surely absolute reliability of the source of information does not absolve an editor from criticism if the information itself was confidential, especially if he is favourable to the cause to which the information is related. Rangaswamy[2] used to know many most important things contemplated by members of the Working Committee. I am not aware that he ever abused the confidence by publishing anything and saying that the information was absolutely reliable, as it undoubtedly was. Even Salivati[3] who, in Rangaswamy's time, had committed a serious blunder,[4] has very often got from me information and therefore absolutely reliable. But he observed the law of the game by not disclosing it when he knew that I did not want the information to be published.

I should not have asked Mahadev to write to you the letter he did if it was a mere matter of embarrassment to me. There was none. But undoubtedly public cause was damaged by your publication of information that was strictly confidential, more so as it was not even accurate. Had it not been for the dangerous statement that the cause of the contemplated retirement was the formation of the Malaviyaji party, I would not have taken any public notice of your announcement.[5]

I wish I could convince you that you had laid down a most dangerous principle of conduct. You say "in this instance, therefore, our sole anxiety was about the authenticity of the news". Suppose that the Sardar had contemplated some big move on behalf of the Congress whose premature publication would defeat the very end he had in view. Suppose that a very clever correspondent of *The Hindu* was a thought reader, and he had

[1] Editor, *The Hindu*

[2] A. Rangaswami Iyengar, former editor of *The Hindu*

[3] S. Salivati, correspondent of *The Hindu*

[4] *Vide* Vol. LIII, pp. 80 and 104-5.

[5] *Vide* Vol. LVIII, pp. 406-7.

read the Sardar's thought. The news would be authentic. Would you be justified, unless you avowed yourself as an enemy of the Congress, in publishing the authentic information? Don't retort by saying that no such calamity was possible in connection with your publication of the news in question. I am trying to show you the untenability of the position you have taken up. That the publication in the case in point did not result in much damage, you could not plead in self-protection. You will, therefore, please dismiss from your mind the idea that you have done any wrong to me. I have endeavoured to appreciate your point of view. It is unfortunate that I have not been able to appreciate your position. I think that it is wholly indefensible, unless of course you take up the position that, as a newspaper man, you have nothing to do with the nation, your sole concern is to purvey news—no matter how obtained and no matter whose cause is damaged so long as the news you publish is authentic wholly or in part.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI K. SRINIVASAN
MADRAS

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

35. *LETTER TO SANTDAS MANGHARAM*

September 20, 1934

MY DEAR SANTDAS,

I have your letter. I had your telegram also. Atma's illness would prove a blessing in disguise if he actually comes here, and that with Mirabehn. There is no doubt that he will profit greatly by her company.

Yes, prayer is a mighty power. We do not realize it because we do not see it through our senses.

Yours,
BAPU

SHRI SANTDAS MANGHARAM
ADVOCATE, HYDERABAD (SIND)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

36. *LETTER TO ABBAS TYABJI*

September 20, 1934

MY DEAR BROTHER,

Your letter has put heart into me. But if it has done that, it has also led to a discovery. You are all a fraud and Raihana the greatest among you all. I never knew that in writing those long letters she was simply joking and pretending. And instead of remaining a Bhrrr—you a grey bearded young man writes to me a serious letter as if the whole bungalow was flooded with tears. I shall know what to do when next time she sends me a long complaint. Of course she could not write the letter she did if there was all that she said in her letters about your wickednesses. That is the worst of having a mystic-poet as one's daughter. I hope my statement[1] to the Press gave you a day's work. R.'s letter[2] herewith.

Love to you all.

M. K. G.

From a photostat: S.N. 9590

37. *LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

September 20, 1934

DEAR SISTER[3],

I am grateful to you for the delicious apples and raisins you sent me through Deenabandhu C. F. Andrews.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

SMT. RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR
SIMLA W.

From the original: C.W. 3511. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6320

[1] *Vide* pp. 3-12.

[2] The letter is not available.

[3] The source has 'Sir' which is obviously a slip.

38. LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI

September 20, 1934

BA,

I got your letter yesterday. If you wish you may of course keep Kano[1] with you, what have I to do with him if I bring him here? My only intention was to relieve you and Ramdas of responsibility for him. Nimu[2] was enthusiastic about Kano because Sarita[3] is here. It appears Ramdas is now steadily improving. He must not hasten to resume his food. You must be having mosquito-net with you. How do you pass the day? Ask someone to read to you my statement to the Press. Nimu daily visits the hospital for treatment of Sumitra's[4] eyes. Amalabehn has got a job in Santiniketan; she will therefore go there in a few days. It would be good if she stays there peacefully. Get someone to write to Kamala Nehru who is very ill.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Bane Patro, p. 27

39. LETTER TO PARIKSHITLAL L. MAJMUDAR

September 20, 1934

BHAI PARIKSHITLAL,

I have your letter.

It is difficult to give a reply which can be universally applied, to the question what should be done when a Harijan living in the Ashram misbehaves. You yourself will have to decide that. Or Narahari will do so when he comes. How to find a way between the duty of forbearance on the one hand and that of protecting the Ashram on the other can be decided only

[1] Ramdas Gandhi's son

[2] Nirmala Gandhi, Ramdas Gandhi's wife

[3] Ramdas Gandhi's mother-in-law. The source, however, has "Savita", obviously a misprint.

[4] Ramdas Gandhi's daughter

with reference to each particular incident. Adopt whatever course experience suggests without any fear or hesitation.

Such a rule cannot be applied to a caste Hindu nor to a responsible Harijan living in the Ashram. And I am firmly of the view that nothing can be forgiven those who are responsible for the management of the Ashram. If moral laxity enters their lives, institutions of Harijan service will perish.

I am afraid I have not been able to give a reply which will satisfy you. Find what guidance you can from this.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4040

40. LETTER TO PRABHASHANKAR PATTANI

September 20, 1934

SUJNA BHAISHRI,

Please read the accompanying postcard. Do you think there is any truth in it?

I hope the Kumar Saheb[1] has recovered.

Vandemataram from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5937. Also C.W. 3255. Courtesy: Mahesh P. Pattani

41. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

September 20, 1934

BHAISHRI VALLABHBHAI,

I have your letter.

Herewith is a draft reply prepared by me. You may make in it such changes as you wish.

What ignorance that Dunichand should be sent a humiliating reply on behalf of the Board![2] It is good that you are keeping a watch.

[1] Of the Bhavnagar State

[2] *Vide* also "Letter to Vallabhbhai Patel", pp. 2-3.

* * *[1]

I read your remarks about Narahari. Your annoyance is justified. But there has been no deliberate malice behind what has happened. There is nothing but misunderstanding at the bottom of the whole thing. It will disappear in time. I am convinced that there is no malice in anybody's heart. I have decided that, if Kaka can be persuaded, he must not leave Gujarat at present so as to end all this bitterness, if for no other reason. Let him manage or mismanage the education department of the whole country from Gujarat.

There is no necessity at all for you to leave. And if my view has appealed to you, at present managing the Vidyapith means no more than disbursing funds to the individuals concerned in terms of the resolutions passed. The Vidyapith will be a movable institution. Everybody will go on doing the work entrusted to him. All decisions about teaching programmes will be made by Kaka or by the teachers collectively. My view is that everybody will have to shoulder independent responsibility in the place which he has selected. If anybody consults someone whom he admires, it will be only as a friend. This is the plan I have in mind. I have discussed this scheme at length with Kaka, Kishorelal and Narahari. If you approve of it, all that you have to do is to write a letter and put it into operation. About salaries, Narahari and Kaka have decided something. I have not meddled in that. I should like you to free yourself from the burden of this dispute.

I hope you are keeping good health. Rajendrababu is expected here around the 23rd. I do hope you will be here then.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 133-4

[1] Omission as in the source

42. *LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA*

September 20, 1934

CHI. SHARMA,

I had your wire. I acted promptly on it and sent a wire yesterday to Draupadi[1]. If Ramdas has agreed to release you, you can immediately come to Wardha and stay with me for two or three days or even less, after which you must go to Khurja. Draupadi's letter leads me to believe that it would be a sin on your part to stay away from her. Your first duty is to look after Devi[2]. But it might be proper to leave him in Delhi if his care is beyond you. Of course, in my opinion, it would be a sign of your failing. But who am I to define your dharma? After all only your own heart's prompting can be your dharma.

What more can I write?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha*, facing p. 98

43. *GANDHI-ANEY STATEMENT*[3]

September 20, 1934

As a result of mutual conversation we have come to the conclusion that it should be common cause between the Parliamentary Board and the Nationalist Party[4] that wheresoever between rival candidates it is manifest that one candidate has an overwhelming chance against another the latter should be withdrawn. Not having sufficient material before us, it was not possible to make any recommendation as to the chances of success of rival candidates whose names were before us. Nor

[1] Addressee's wife

[2] Addressee's son

[3] After a discussion regarding the selection of candidates by the Parliamentary Board and the Nationalist Party for elections to the Assembly, Gandhiji and M. S. Aney issued this joint statement.

[4] Formed by Madan Mohan Malaviya and M. S. Aney

had any of us any authority to come to any decision. It was enough for us to be able to enunciate the principle we have done. We may also state that we met together purely as friends and co-workers without being deputed by respective parties. Our purpose was to find ways and means of avoiding a domestic conflict.

The Hindu, 21-9-1934

44. *INTERVIEW WITH A HARIJAN WORKER*[1]

[Before *September 21, 1934*]

[GANDHIJI:] So you wanted to take the citadel by storm?

[AKARTE:] Yes, rather. But the preacher is a believer in the removal of untouchability, and I had told the Secretary that he should hold the *kirtan* in a temple which was open to the Harijans.

You did not approach the preacher himself?

No, Sir.

The preacher himself had no prejudice against the Harijans, for, you yourself say he went to the Harijan quarters and gave them a *kirtan*?

True. He had no prejudices, but he should not have yielded to the Secretary.

You know that the temple was not open to the Harijans, and you laid yourself open to the charge that you wanted to go in under cover of the *kirtan*?

But, Mahatmaji, he might have come out and held the *kirtan* outside.

But he did go to the Harijan quarters. Didn't he?

Yes. But the handbills invited all the Hindus.

[1] Reported by Mahadev Desai, this appeared in *Harijan* under the title "The Wrong Way". The Hindu Sabha of Morsi, in C. P., had arranged with one of its preachers to hold a *kirtan* and issued handbills inviting Hindus. The *kirtan* was held in a temple where Akarte, a Harijan worker, and other Harijans were not allowed. The preacher also declined to hold the *kirtan* outside for the benefit of the Harijans but offered to go to the Harijan quarters and give them a special *kirtan*. Akarte later held a protest meeting and passed a resolution condemning the preacher. Akarte then sought Gandhiji's guidance.

Quite right. But the preacher had not issued the leaflets, and, then, "all" means, in our present state of unenlightenment, the so-called Hindus, and does not include the Harijans.

No. Mahatmaji, the Hindu Sabha Secretary ought to know better.

Well, well, no legal quibbles. There ought not to have been a protest meeting at all. You might have approached the preacher in the first instance, you might have gently asked him to address a meeting of the Hindus for the removal of untouchability or to appeal to the Hindus in the course of his *kirtan* itself to admit the Harijans to a religious function to which they had every right. You might have asked the other Hindus to boycott the function altogether. Even now, if you have sufficient energy in you, you may serve on the temple trustees notice asking them to show cause why they prevented Harijans from entering even the precincts of the temple and thus from listening to a religious sermon. That would be a good test case; whilst temple-entry may be prohibited in law, entry into the precincts may not be. But the protest meeting and the other things you did were, perhaps, an exhibition of excessive zeal. The method of our work is unadulterated non-violence, and non-violence alone will succeed. Force is sure to fail.

I am sorry, Mahatmaji; I must confess I was in a temper. If you like, I can make a public statement to that effect.

That is hardly necessary. Your restraint in action will be more eloquent than any expression of regret.

. . . Though cholera is fast disappearing in Malkapur and Morsi,[1] there are other villages where it has spread and might spread. What precautionary measures would you suggest? Could we take the help of the police in a crisis like this?

Certainly, police help may be taken, as medical help is taken. All drinking water must be boiled and a grain of potassium permanganate should be added to it. They must be asked not to drink any other water.

But they are ignorant, they don't listen. And how can we expect the poor people to drink boiled water, when they go to the fields.

Now, that's not an active worker speaking! You must carry on vigorous propaganda, provide them with every facility and

[1] The worker had described the cholera epidemic in these villages and the steps he had taken to control it.

not rest until they have listened to you. You can provide them with extra fuel to boil the water with, pots in which to carry the boiled water to the fields and potassium permanganate. You can have Harijans whom you have inoculated to accompany you and help in the propaganda. No pains to be spared.

> I quite see. I was tending a Harijan myself yesterday. I had a medical man to treat him; he was worse, I had another doctor called and I am glad he will completely recover. He got a treatment which the richest in our village might envy.

That's very good. Rest assured that your name has gone down in the book of God, who keeps an accurate record of all things good and bad. There is no better Accountant on earth.

Harijan, 21-9-1934

45. *WHY AGAINST VIOLENCE?*

A correspondent argues:

> Why are you against violence? Do you think that every act of violence is an expression of *himsa*? Is it not strange that we should feel a kind of horror, pity and disgust when we see a murder or assassination, and silently witness the slow sucking of blood going on every day in the world? If one believes that a successful bloody revolution would ameliorate a good deal of misery in the world, why should he not resort to arms? . . . Don't you realize that the rulers of the world have become so callous that, to understand you or humanity, they must again become children. I don't mean to say they are born bad. But their badness is a physical fact and, in spite of themselves, they cannot alter it.

It is because the rulers, if they are bad, are so, not necessarily or wholly by reason of birth, but largely because of their environment, that I have hopes of their altering their course. It is perfectly true, as the writer says, that the rulers cannot alter their course themselves. If they are dominated by their environment, they do not surely deserve to be killed, but should be changed by a change of environment. But the environment are we—the people who make the rulers what they are. They are thus an exaggerated editon of what we are in the aggregate. If my argument is sound, any violence done to the rulers would be violence done to ourselves. It would be suicide. And since I do not want to commit suicide, nor encourage my neighbours

to do so, I become non-violent myself and invite my neighbours to do likewise.

Moreover, violence may destroy one or more bad rulers, but, like Ravana's heads, others will pop up in their places, for, the root lies elsewhere. It lies in us. If we will reform ourselves, the rulers will automatically do so.

The correspondent seems to imagine that a non-violent person has no feelings and that he is a silent witness to the "slow sucking of blood going on every day in the world". Non-violence is not a passive force nor so helpless as the correspondent will make it out to be. Barring truth, if truth is to be considered apart from non-violence, the latter is the activest force in the world. It never fails. Violence only seemingly succeeds, and nobody has ever claimed uniform success for violence. Non-violence never promises immediate and tangible results. It is not a mango trick. Its failures are, therefore, all seeming. A believer in violence will kill the murderer and boast of his act. But he never killed murder. By murdering the murderer, he added to it and probably invited more. The law of retaliation is the law of multiplying evil.

A non-violent man will act upon the murderer through his love. He cannot, by punishing the murderer, undo the murder already committed. But he hopes by gentleness to get the murderer to repent of his deed and change the whole course of his life. A non-violent man always and automatically turns the searchlight selfward and discovers that the best course of conduct is to do unto others as he would have others to do unto him. If he was the murderer, he would not like to be killed for his madness but would like the opportunity of mending himself. He knows, too, that he must not destroy what he cannot create. God is the sole Judge between man and man.

Harijan, 21-9-1934

46. GOD OR NO GOD

my visit to the South I met Harijans and others ded not to believe in God. At one place where a f Harijans was being held, the chairman delivered a atheism under the very shadow of a temple which d built for themselves with their own money. But bitterness of his heart for the treatment meted out Harijans, he had begun to doubt the very existence ent Power that had allowed such cruelty to flourish. perhaps, some excuse for this disbelief.

re is a specimen of disbelief of another type from rce:

t you think that a preconceived idea of a God, Truth or might colour the whole trend of our search and hence be impediment and may defeat the very purpose of our life? For you take certain moral truths as fundamental. But we are and, as long as we have not found the reality, how can we assert that a certain rule of morality is the truth or it alone is help us in our search?

rch is possible without some workable assumptions. nothing, we find nothing. Ever since its commence- world, the wise and the foolish included, has pro- the assumption that, if we are, God is and that, if we are not. And since belief in God is co-existent umankind, existence of God is treated as a fact e than the fact that the sun is. This living faith has largest number of puzzles of life. It has alleviated It sustains us in life, it is our one solace in death. arch for Truth becomes interesting, worth while, be- s belief. But search for Truth is search for God. od. God is, because Truth is. We embark upon the use we believe that there is Truth and that It can diligent search and meticulous observance of the well- well-tried rules of the search. There is no record in e failure of such search. Even the atheists who have disbelieve in God have believed in Truth. The trick erformed is that of giving God another, not a new, names are Legion. Truth is the crown of them all.

46. GOD OR NO GOD

During my visit to the South I met Harijans and others who pretended not to believe in God. At one place where a conference of Harijans was being held, the chairman delivered a harangue on atheism under the very shadow of a temple which Harijans had built for themselves with their own money. But out of the bitterness of his heart for the treatment meted out to fellow Harijans, he had begun to doubt the very existence of a benevolent Power that had allowed such cruelty to flourish. There was, perhaps, some excuse for this disbelief.

But here is a specimen of disbelief of another type from another source:

> Don't you think that a preconceived idea of a God, Truth or Reality might colour the whole trend of our search and hence be a great impediment and may defeat the very purpose of our life? For example, you take certain moral truths as fundamental. But we are in search and, as long as we have not found the reality, how can we boast or assert that a certain rule of morality is the truth or it alone is going to help us in our search?

No search is possible without some workable assumptions. If we grant nothing, we find nothing. Ever since its commencement, the world, the wise and the foolish included, has proceeded upon the assumption that, if we are, God is and that, if God is not, we are not. And since belief in God is co-existent with the humankind, existence of God is treated as a fact more definite than the fact that the sun is. This living faith has solved the largest number of puzzles of life. It has alleviated our misery. It sustains us in life, it is our one solace in death. The very search for Truth becomes interesting, worth while, because of this belief. But search for Truth is search for God. Truth is God. God is, because Truth is. We embark upon the search, because we believe that there is Truth and that It can be found by diligent search and meticulous observance of the well-known and well-tried rules of the search. There is no record in history of the failure of such search. Even the atheists who have pretended to disbelieve in God have believed in Truth. The trick they have performed is that of giving God another, not a new, name. His names are Legion. Truth is the crown of them all.

What is true of God is true, though in a less degree, of the 'assumption of the truth of some fundamental moralities'. As a matter of fact, they are implied in the belief in God or Truth. Departure from these has landed the truants in endless misery. Difficulty of practice should not be confused with disbelief. A Himalayan expedition has its prescribed conditions of success. Difficulty of fulfilling the conditions does not make the expedition impossible. It only adds interest and zest to the search. Well, this expedition in search of God or Truth is infinitely more than numberless Himalayan expeditions and, therefore, much more interesting. If we have no zest for it, it is because of the weakness of our faith. What we see with our physical eyes is more real to us than the only Reality. We know that appearances are deceptive. And yet we treat trivialities as realities. To see the trivialities as such is half the battle won. It constitutes more than half the search after Truth or God. Unless we disengage ourselves from trivialities, we have not even the leisure for the great search; or is it to be reserved for our leisure hours?

Let Harijan workers know that the campaign against untouchability is a part of the great search, whether we know it or not. Untouchability is a big falsehood. We have proved it for ourselves, or we should not be devotees of the cause. We can transmit the truth to others only by diligence and due observance of the conditions of success which have been often enough set forth in these columns.

Harijan, 21-9-1934

47. *TELEGRAM TO NARANDAS GANDHI*

September 21, 1934

NARANDAS[1] GANDHI
NEAR MIDDLE SCHOOL
RAJKOT

SEND KANU.

BAPU

From a microfilm: M.M.U./I

[1] The source has "Narayandas".

48. LETTER TO DAVID B. HART

September 21, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter of 26th July last. The Indian movement stands for complete independence. That does not exclude an honourable partnership on absolutely equal terms. But there can be no association with imperialist exploitation of India or any other country. Naturally you have heard the opinion that India could not be left on its own. Imperialism has always justified itself in that manner. I believe in the maxim that no greater evil can befall a country than that it should lose its independence.

The caste system, as it exists at present, is certainly the bane of Hindu life. Its rigour is unmitigated by the British rule. On the contrary it gains force because of the so-called neutrality necessarily observed by the ruling power for the sake of itself. The great movement of removal of untouchability is an attack on the evil underlying the caste system.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

DAVID B. HART, ESQ.
PIPESTONE
MINNESOTA, U.S.A.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

49. LETTER TO R. V. SASTRI

September 21, 1934

MY DEAR SASTRI[1],

Prithuraj tells me that he wrote to you about some account in connection with *Harijan*. Is Ganesan up to date in his account-keeping? Are you keeping an eye on it? You know how particular I am about prompt attention to all matters referring to account-keeping.

[1] Editor, *Harijan*

There is a small subscription received here. Prithuraj will be writing about it. It is a matter of debit and credit entry. I would like you to examine the ledger-keeping and give me your personal assurance that everything is kept in order. Though I like Ganesan for his energy and enthusiasm, I have never been an admirer of his businesslikeness. On the contrary I have had sad experiences. But I have nursed him because I have believed in his integrity.

I hope both you and Visalakshi are doing well and have forgotten your grief.

SHRI R. V. SASTRI
MADRAS

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

50. LETTER TO NIRMAL K. BOSE

September 21, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

Khan Saheb was good enough to give me a copy of *Selections from Gandhi* for which I thank you. I have now your essay on "caste". If time permits, I shall gladly go through it and let you have my opinion, if there is anything worth saying.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. NIRMAL K. BOSE
KHADI SANGH
BOLPUR P.O.
BIRBHUM[1]

From a photostat: G.N. 10523

[1] The address is from Pyarelal Papers.

51. LETTER TO K. P. RAMAN VAIDYAR

September 21, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I advise you first of all to approach the local Harijan Sevak Sangh, then the provincial. It is difficult for me to say anything till you have passed through the usual channels.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. K. P. RAMAN VAIDYAR
P. M. MEDICAL HALL
COIMBATORE

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

52. LETTER TO JUGALKISHORE

September 21, 1934

MY DEAR JUGALKISHORE,

Your letter and statement to hand.

(1) It is no use my making any public statement. If you are not going to rejoin the institution, you and those who hold the same view should publicly announce your intention of not rejoining, in any case stating definitely that you would not because of your past political activity and to save the institution from remaining under the ban if your past activity had any connection with the continuance of the ban. I think too that it is open to the trustees to move the H. C. for an order compelling the Government to lift the ban. But that is a purely legal point on which they should take legal advice. The trustees should consult Sir Tej, if they have access to him. He may give legal advice and also move the Government in his capacity as a public man.

(2) You can come whenever you like next month. I am in Wardha till 19th October. I shall give you some time for the discussion of education in general and village education in particular. You may come even earlier, if you want to see Kakasaheb

too in the matter. He is here at present. He is laid up with fever which is slowly going down.

Yours,
BAPU

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

53. LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI

September 21, 1934

BA,

No letter from you today. You will learn the news about Sumitra from my letter to Ramdas. You must not worry on her account nor on Nimu's. Amtussalaam and Vasumati go there regularly. Radhakisan[1] is there, of course. Amala has secured a job in Santiniketan and will leave in a few days. She is very happy about it. Kakasaheb was having a temperature but it is coming down gradually. I daily walk up the distance to see him. Nimu of course accompanies me part of the way and again joins me on my return. She is now learning to spin by herself. I have today a letter from Jamnabehn. I hope you write to her. Do write to Mani also.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Bane Patro, p. 27

[1] Radhakrishna Bajaj

54. *LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ*

September 21, 1934

CHI. JAMNALAL,

As the doctor here confessed his helplessness regarding Sumitra's eyes and advised her to be immediately taken to Bombay, I have sent her with Saritabehn. I have asked her to stay in Mani Bhuvan. The responsibility of finding the doctor rests on Sardar. You will not have to worry. However, they will come and see you.

Let not the repeated postponement of your return worry you. Come only when the doctor declares it safe. Till then let there be no burden on your mind concerning the affairs here.

Most probably Madan Mohan[1] will leave today. The Khan Brothers are quite comfortable. The younger brother is learning hand-spinning and the elder looks after Jones and Kaka. There is no need to worry about them. Radhakisan is an efficient worker.

I hope you follow the rules of diet suggested [by me]. What is your weight? Has Ghanshyamdas's operation been put off?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2941

55. *LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ*

[*September 21, 1934*][2]

CHI. JAMNALAL,

You probably remember a sum of Rs. 500 having been paid to Madhavdas, Ba's brother. He duly got the money. Of the total amount, Rs. 325 was paid at the time through Thakkar Bapa and the balance seems to have been drawn from the firm's office. That sum of Rs. 325 should now be returned to Thakkar

[1] Madan Mohan Chaturvedi, addressee's secretary

[2] From the reference to the intended departure of Madan Mohan for Bombay. *Vide* the preceding item.

Bapa. Send him a *hundi* for this amount. Particulars: 'In repayment of Rs. 325 paid to Gandhi in Bombay.'

And now about Madan Mohan. I thought he would leave today for Bombay. But now that will not be possible. The Khan Brothers seem to need him here, though they said so only jokingly. They might give Madan Mohan some writing work, and would also like somebody whom they knew to accompany them everywhere. If you don't specially need Madan Mohan there, let him remain here for the present. Or if you can think of somebody else to take his place, let me know. Even if, however, you cannot do that and if you need Madan Mohan, I will send him immediately. In any case I will discuss the matter with them tomorrow.

Radhakisan must have written to you about Manhar Singh.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Rajendrababu is arriving on Monday or Tuesday. Andrews also will be arriving at the same time.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2942

56. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

September 21, 1934

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I got your letter. I should say 'letters' rather.

I got your statement. You have fought well. Try and see if you can fight in Lakhtar[1] now. If you can find anybody there who knows the Lakhtar ruler, use his good offices. Parikshitlal must have written to you about this.

I can understand that you cannot become a permanent secretary till you have come to like the place. Time and circumstances keep doing their work. We are ruled by them. That is why we sing "Thy will be done."

Till a permanent advisory board can be appointed, let things go on as at present. If you keep up the practice of consulting people in matters on which they are qualified to advise, you will be able to form from among them the kind of board you require.

1 Where Harijans were forbidden the use of the public reservoir

The message which I have sent to workers in Gujarat is meant for all. Whether at present there are only two or three or 20 or 30 workers who can work in that manner doesn't worry me. I have only presented the ideal. We cannot revive the Vidyapith in the same form. Circumstances have changed and we have gone through new experiences. In the causes for despair which you have described, I see rays of hope. What one or two persons are doing today will be taken up tomorrow by ten or twenty and by two hundred or three hundred the day after. If, however, the experiment is not sound or if no worker of the right type has gone to any village, let it fail. If the experiment itself is unsound, it ought to fail or it will seem to have failed for want of the right type of expert workers. Some of us will try to make ourselves such workers. So long as we believe that India lives in her villages and not in her cities, we must go to the villages sooner or later. If so, why not today?

Neither Kaka nor Narahari has left the Vidyapith. If you say that Narahari has not gone to work in a village, that would be partly true. Anybody who lives among Harijans will be living in his mind in a village. If that is not so, he wouldn't be able to render true service to Harijans. Where do the five or seven crores of Harijans live? You, I, Narahari and all others should have our hearts where they live.

Kaka, too, has not left. Because he has ceased to be a trustee, does that mean that he has left the institution? Why shouldn't we say, rather, that his connection with the institution has become closer? He himself thinks so. If you still do not understand, ask me again without the slightest hesitation. Kaka must be in Ahmedabad at present, and Vallabhbhai in Bombay. Swami, Kishorelal and the rest are here. Just now Devdas too is here.

I intend to take one more step. I am not discussing it here. I will ask Kishorelal to write to you today about it if he can.

Please do not feel disheartened. The examples of Bal and others show that we have to purify and strengthen our faith. Those who desert the cause obey their own nature. We need not lament what they do. I hope Rama[1], Vimu[2] and Dhiru[3] are quite well. Where do you all stay?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5525

[1], [2] & [3] Addressee's wife, daughter and son

57. *LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL*

September 21, 1934

BHAISHRI VALLABHBHAI,

I wish to add one more to your already numerous burdens. You will find with this the opinion of the Civil Surgeon here about Sumitra's condition. In view of it, I am immediately sending her there with her grandmother today. They will stay in Mani Bhuvan, but you may keep them with you if you wish. Get Sumitra examined and treated by an eye-specialist. She has trachoma and also astigmatism. Both the conditions require treatment. Mani may accompany her wherever it may be necessary to take her.

My statement is being widely criticized. Please do create an atmosphere favourable to my leaving the Congress. Nobody is likely to be interested in the programme of spinning and weaving khadi, as you have rightly pointed out in your statement[1].

I sent you yesterday a copy of my reply[2] to Vamanrao. Aney came and saw me yesterday. He spent full two hours with me. You must have read our joint statement[3]. There was a wire from Nekiram informing me that Malaviyaji was coming on the 26th. It was received while Aney was here. I have replied to say that Malaviyaji should not be put to the trouble of coming here, and that it would be enough if the two parties realized that whichever was likely to be defeated should withdraw. I should certainly like Chintamani[4] and Kunzru[5] to get elected. They are very useful persons. I don't know, though, how that can be assured. How can we know what the conditions in the U. P. are? Outside the U.P., I don't think they will succeed anywhere. He says that their candidates will win in Bengal. He is also hopeful about Phukan and about a successful tour of Utkal. Most probably they will not put up any candidate against Asaf Ali. He told me that there was complete

[1] Issued to the Press on September 20, 1934

[2] *Vide* p. 31.

[3] *Vide* pp. 38-9.

[4] C. Y. Chintamani, Editor, *The Leader*

[5] H. N. Kunzru

rot in the affairs of Bengal. That the Congress office should be raided in broad daylight and Congress papers should be carried away was the limit. The raiders, however, did not find the faked receipts for which they had planned the raid. It is said that among them were some well-known Congress volunteers. Kaka's fever has not yet left him completely.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro-2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 134-7

58. LETTER TO CHAND TYAGI

September 21, 1934

BHAI CHANDRA TYAGI,

Your letter.

Besides the *Gita* it would be good to read the *Ramayana* too.

Faith coupled with knowledge sharpens the intellect which then meekly follows faith.

The letter about Mirabehn was extremely sweet. Mirabehn is touring in the West these days for propaganda work. She will be back by the end of October.

In karmayoga one worships only God and that too through the service of His subjects.

One who remains awake during the best part of the night is entitled to sleep during the day.

It will do if you can spin good yarn of count 20.

I shall try to do something about Rajkishori[1]. At present I am confining myself to Wardha.

If you wish you can come to me in January. I have no programme fixed till then.

Ba is at Sabarmati these days with Ramdas who is unwell. Prabhavati, Amtussalaam, Vasumati and Umiya[2] are with me, also Mahadev, Pyarelal, Raj and Prithuraj.

Amina[3] is living in her husband's village these days.

My diet consists of milk, fruit and a boiled vegetable.

It is good to eat papaw when available. I am keeping well.

[1] Fiancee of Balbir, addressee's son
[2] Jaisukhlal Gandhi's daughter
[3] Wife of Gulam Rasool Qureshi

Jamnalalji is in Bombay at present having undergone a mastoid operation. He may come back in October.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI CHAND TYAGI
PRISONER
SAHARANPUR

[PS.]

I have just learnt from Satyadevji that there is some difficulty about sending for Rajkishori. Sethji's assent is required.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3270

59. *LETTER TO RAM SARAN VIDYARTHI*

September 22, 1934

DEAR VIDYARTHI,

Khan Saheb is most disinclined to accept public appointments. He does only when there is no escaping from it. He has been turning down proposal after proposal. I would ask you to secure someone else, preferably some local man. We should by this time learn to depend upon intrinsic merit than on extrinsic aid.

Yours sincerely,

MR. RAM SARAN VIDYARTHI, B.A.
PRESIDENT, KHADI AND SWADESHI EXHIBITION
STUDENTS' KHADI LEAGUE, MEERUT

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

60. LETTER TO DR. SATYAPAL

September 22, 1934

DEAR DR. SATYAPAL,

I have your letter about Lala Dunichand. You have written as if I did not know Lala Dunichand and his services. But I do not need to say anything as I understand that the whole thing was due to an error which has been, or is being, rectified.[1]

Yours sincerely,

DR. SATYAPAL, B.A., M.B.
42 NISBET ROAD
LAHORE

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

61. LETTER TO BISHVA NATH GUPTA

September 22, 1934

MY DEAR BISHVA NATH,

I received only today your letter addressed to Deenabandhu Andrews. He had forgotten all about it. I do not know whether your wife has met the expected fate, or whether she is still lingering.

I shall be in Wardha till the middle of October. You are at liberty, therefore, to come to Wardha between now and then. I do hope that you are now in comparatively greater peace than when you wrote your letter to the Deenabandhu.

SHRI BISHVA NATH GUPTA
KUCHA MAIDAN
DELHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Vallabhbhai Patel", pp. 36-7.

62. LETTER TO NARAYAN M. KHARE

September 22, 1934

CHI. PANDITJI,

I have read your letter to Kishorelal. Kaka's fever may be said to have come down now. But he will still have to be careful. What you write about him seems perfectly correct. There will be a great deal of misunderstanding if he leaves Gujarat. Probably you do not know the reason for his decision to resign. It is not his failure to consult the other colleagues. That was not a very serious error. And there is also some misunderstanding regarding that. But though he had not consulted the colleagues he stated in his letter to the Collector that the trustees desired to make a gift. A trustee ought not to be guilty of such a lapse. And, therefore, as atonement for it he resigned the trusteeship. This was a correct step. Neither Vallabhbhai nor anybody else had anything to do with it. It was only a question of self-purification or self-awakening. Now Kaka will refrain from leaving Gujarat at least for avoiding a misunderstanding.

No senior woman worker from the Ashram will be attached to Lakshmibehn[1]. All of them are following their own independent paths. I like this very much. We should be satisfied with whatever progress results from this. What Lakshmibehn needs is not company but a co-worker. She seems to feel alone here. Perhaps she will feel like that everywhere and always. I think she would prefer to have three or four or some more girls entrusted to her independent charge and be completely free to manage them as she liked. She would both need and not need an adviser. That is, she would consult him whenever she was in doubt, but act according to her own judgment. This is not a defect, nor may it be a virtue; or it can be either. It can be a shining virtue when it springs solely from the spirit of service. But such is not Lakshmibehn's case. However, she has no clear plan for the future. I, therefore, wish to discuss the problem again with her. I have already discussed it once and this is the impression I have formed. Can she stay

[1] Addressee's wife

with you? Do you desire it? How much do you earn there? For how long do you intend to stay there? You do wish ultimately to bury yourself in a village, don't you?

The Kanya Vidyalaya cannot be run today solely by women. We do not yet have a sufficient number of such women workers. A few institutions seem to be run by them, but even in their case men help indirectly. There is no harm in this. Men's help will be needed for some years at least for running institutions in accordance with our ideals. They are part of our experiment also. There must be some men who have something of the woman too in them. If men and women can never live together without getting disturbed by sex attractions, their *brahmacharya* is not *brahmacharya*. Do not mother and son, father and daughter, brother and sister so live? Why, then, cannot men and women who are not so related live likewise? If we are sincere, we shall progress through our mistakes and realize one day that what seemed impossible has become possible.

I hope you don't believe that there was the slightest feeling of despair in my advice to break up the Ashram. If despair was the reason, I would have declared it. The sacrifice of the Ashram was intended to add lustre to the great work it had done. It is a pure thing, not an impure one, that is given as sacrifice. The Ashram had purity enough for the cause for which it was sacrificed.

The reason behind my desire to leave the Congress is not corruption in it, but the increasing differences of principle with the intellectual section in it. We can reform the constitution to deal with corruption, but to deal with differences of opinion one of the two parties should surrender to the other or they should fight it out. The path of surrender is in conformity with ahimsa—in fighting there is mostly *himsa*.

About other things Kishorelal will write.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 248. Courtesy: Lakshmibehn N. Khare

63. LETTER TO NARAYAN M. DESAI

September 22, 1934

CHI. NARAYANRAO,

May I call you Narayanrao[1] now? Should a boy named after Narayana[2] be timid or brave? Why should one be afraid of a minor operation like the removal of tonsils? Even little children, much younger than you, submit to such operation. Mani was brought home immediately after such an operation. Will you be brave now? If you are not, you, I, Mahadev and Durga, all of us, will be disgraced. Even that doesn't matter, though. But the Ashram also will be disgraced. How is it that you, who never tire of singing big *bhajans*, are afraid of a little pain? Come, then, save our honour.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9482

64. LETTER TO SURENDRA

September 22, 1934

CHI. SURENDRA,

I understand what you say about M. I have now received a letter of repentance from him. What pulled him down was his pride and his misplaced confidence about his purity. I see that even in his letter of repentance. We have now made some change in our way of living; still, I would suggest that whenever we suspect anybody we should caution him and the head of the institution in which he is working. If I had had the faintest suspicion, I could perhaps have done him some good and he would not have been permitted to continue with self-indulgence for years as he did. Sharma says that he had cautioned me. But I don't remember. However, I had no faith at all in his judgment at that time. Even today I don't have much. I had proved to him

[1] Mahadev Desai's son; Gandhiji offers to add the honorific "rao".
[2] Lord Vishnu

in two instances that he was too willing to see the evil side of a man. But when you say a thing I will certainly have to think about it.

What you say regarding girls is perfectly right for those who are vigilant. But this [freedom of] association is implied in our experiment. Because our custom has been different and the present-day ideas of unrestricted freedom are getting mixed up with our experiment, there is an appearance of failure in it. But my impression on the whole is that our experiment has not proved a failure. We should not forget that the experiment is based on the truth that the *atman* is its own friend or enemy. We are trying to teach the girls to learn to protect themselves. Similarly, we can only guide the young men. We may try to frame rules of propriety to serve as hedges. Sometimes our calculations may even go wrong. We should go on correcting such errors. I regard untruth to be a greater sin than sexual immorality. If we don't get tired and don't give up our worship of truth, it will be well with us in the end.

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

65. LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH

September 22, 1934

CHI. NARAHARI,

One must accept water served by anybody, unless, of course, his hand or the utensil is not clean. You may, if you wish, except that worker's mother from this rule, though I wouldn't like even that. If we make such an exception, it is likely to create a good deal of bitterness in the Ashram. I go even further and hold that, though the restrictions about inter-dining and inter-marrying observed outside the Ashram are all right, we should tolerate no restrictions about inter-dining in the Ashram. Hence we shall be justified in accepting anybody as a tenant only if he is ready to go as far as we do in this matter. Sometimes we may have to tolerate a person whose services we need in connection with our work but who sticks to some practices regarding untouchability. For example, an artisan whose help we require for a Harijan may tell us that he will not eat or drink anything touched by the latter, and we are unable to get anybody else; we may tolerate such a person. But your questions are not about such a case.

You have still not been able to satisfy Sardar. Try to do so if you can. The problem of the library has no connection with the question he has raised. You should see that very clearly. Sardar has not found fault with me, but Kaka's error implies an error on my part. Moreover, even if I am not a trustee, I am looked upon as a very vigilant watchman. Looking at the matter in that light, it can be said that I should have saved Kaka even from writing that letter to the Collector. Why did I at all [allow the] mention of the other Trustees in the letter without verifying the facts? But doesn't the poet's line, "the powerful attract no blame"[1], apply to me also? It is not that I have not borne this in mind. Only, I have not involved myself in this affair. It is enough for me that I have understood the truth. And what more vigilance can I exercise? If I did not act on the assumption that everybody knew his responsibility in what he did, I would not be able to cope with as much work as I do. I have acted in this manner all my life. I have been content to accept moral responsibility.

After writing all this, the conclusion to which I come is this, that though Vallabhbhai has understood all this in his mind he has fearlessly done what he thought right. Even if, therefore, he harbours a prejudice against Kaka, that cannot be deduced from this incident. Hence, if he did anything in the past, that should not be made a reason by Kaka for leaving Gujarat just now and, therefore, not a word should be uttered against Sardar. Kaka has held his view all the time and we ought to try to persuade him to change it. I did that even while I was in jail and am still trying to persuade Kaka to see the matter in that light. And since Vallabhbhai's name has been connected with Kaka's desire to leave Gujarat and his good name has suffered, it has become all the more Kaka's duty not to leave Gujarat. Only then can the wings of slander be clipped. Otherwise this *kabar*[2] will keep on flying.

Does this reasoning appeal to you?

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

[1] *Ramacharitamanasa*, Balakanda

[2] Name of a bird known for chattering incessantly

66. *LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA*

September 22, 1934

CHI. SHARMA,

Your letter. . .[1] I do not recollect what you had written about M. but those days I had little respect for your ability to judge people. Not that I have much even now. I have no dearth of instances when you formed too hasty a judgment, but that does not matter. I read your article on malaria. . .[2]

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Hindi]

Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha, pp. 106-7

67. *INTRODUCTION TO "VARNAVYAVASTHA"*[3]

September 23, 1934[4]

This booklet is a collection of all my writings on varnadharma. Its printing was complete some or perhaps many months ago but it remained unpublished in the absence of an introduction. I had agreed to write the introduction but could not do so till now on account of my Harijan tour.[5]

I

I should have loved to go through all my speeches and writings on varnashrama during the past fifteen years before writing this introduction, but it was physically impossible. Perhaps it is well that I cannot do so. I have never made a fetish of consistency. I am a votary of truth and I must say what I feel and think at a given moment on the question, without

[1]&[2] Omissions as in the source

[3] The Gujarati original appeared in *Harijanbandhu*, 16-9-1934 and 23-9-1934, under the title "Varnashramadharma".

[4] From *Varnavyavastha*

[5] This paragraph has been translated from *Harijanbandhu*, 16-9-1934. What follows is a translation by Mahadev Desai in *Harijan*, where it appeared under the title "The Law of Varna and Ashrama".

regard to what I may have said before on it. The publisher too wants this.[1] It is for the reader to find out how far my present views coincide with those formerly expressed. Wherever he finds that what I have said or written before runs contrary to what I am writing now, he should without hesitation reject the former. I do not claim omniscience.[2] I claim to be a votary of truth and to follow to the best of my ability what seems to be the truth at a given time. As my vision gets clearer, my views must grow clearer with daily practice. Where I have deliberately altered an opinion, the change should be obvious, only a careful eye would notice a gradual and imperceptible evolution.

Varnashramadharma is a compound word known to all our vernaculars, and, though the word dharma (law) is related to both the components, varna and ashrama, the words are rarely used in separation. Hinduism is but another and imperfect name for varnashramadharma. The word 'Hindu' was apparently coined by foreigners and has more geographical than any other content. The dharma (religion or law) that Hindus have professed to observe is varnashramadharma. To say that the dharma of the Hindus is Aryan does not carry us very far. It simply means that the Hindus, or those who lived in the east of the Indus or believed in the Vedic dharma,[3] called themselves Aryas and others non-Aryas. To give our dharma this kind of ethnic label is in my opinion misleading. It should have a name that declares its predominant characteristic, and everyone will admit that Hinduism is nothing without the law of varna and ashrama. It would be impossible to find any *smriti* of which a large part was not devoted to varnashramadharma. This law of varna and ashrama is to be traced to our most ancient scriptures —the Vedas, and so no one who calls himself a Hindu may ignore it. It is his duty to study it in all its bearings, and to reject it if it is an excrescence, and to foster it and restore it to its pristine purity, if it represents a universal law.

So far as the law of ashrama is concerned, it is extinct, alike in profession and observance. Hinduism lays down four ashramas or stages—the life of a *brahmachari* (continent student), the life of a *grihastha* (householder), the life of a *vanaprastha* (who has retired) and the life of a sannyasi (renunciator)—through which every Hindu has to pass to fulfil his purpose in life. But the

[1] This sentence is from *Harijanbandhu*.

[2] This and the following sentence are from *Harijanbandhu*.

[3] The words "or believed in the Vedic dharma" are from *Harijanbandhu*.

first and the third are practically non-existent today, the fourth may be said to be observed in name to a small extent. The second is professed to be observed by all today, but it is observed in name, not in spirit. *Grihasthas* or householders of a kind we all are, inasmuch as we eat and drink and propagate our kind, like all created beings. But in doing so, we fulfil the law of the flesh and not of the spirit. Only those married couples who fulfil the law of the spirit can be said to observe the law of *grihastha-ashrama*. Those who live the mere animal life do not observe the law. The life of householders of today is one of indulgence. And as the four stages represent a ladder of growth and are interdependent, one cannot leap to the stage of a *vanaprastha* or a sannyasi, unless he or she fulfilled the law of the first two ashramas—*brahmacharya* and *grihastha*. The law of the ashrama, therefore, is a dead letter today. It can be revived only if the law of varna, with which it is intimately interlinked, is revived.

That brings us to a consideration of the law of varna. Varna can certainly be said to exist, though in a distorted form. There are four varnas, but the distortion that passes as varna today is divided into countless castes. All the four varnas are divided into numerous castes and sub-castes, but whilst those who belong to the first three are not ashamed to declare that they belong to them, those who belong to the fourth, viz., Shudra, prefer to declare the sub-caste as their label rather than their varna, which they regard as a badge of humiliation.

But labels never reveal a man's character, nor does the fact that a man clings to a label show that he deserves it. A black man will not be red, no matter how repeatedly he calls himself red. In the same way, one does not become a Brahmin by calling oneself a Brahmin. Not until a man reveals in his life the attributes of a Brahmin can he deserve that name. Considered in this light, varna may be said to be extinct. If we may, indeed, claim a label, we can call ourselves Shudras, though really we are not entitled to that name either, inasmuch as we do not observe the law of that varna. This law is the law of one's being, which one has to fulfil. The fulfilment should be spontaneous and no matter of honour or shame. How many are there who are fulfilling the law as law, i.e., spontaneously? We fulfil it because we cannot help it, we are all serfs, whether we will it or no. Let no one contend that varna exists today, because all the functions of the different varnas are being performed by someone or the other and somehow or the other. Varna is intimately, if not indissolubly, connected with birth, and the observance of the law of varna means the following on the part

of us all the hereditary and traditional calling of our forefathers in a spirit of duty. Those who thus fulfil the law of their varna can be counted on one's fingers' ends. This performance of one's hereditary function is done as a matter of duty, though it naturally carries with it the earning of one's livelihood. Thus, the function of a Brahmin is to study and to teach the science of Brahman (or spiritual truth). He performs the function, as he cannot do otherwise, as it is the law of his being. That secures him his livelihood, but he will take it as a gift from God. A Kshatriya will perform the function of protecting the people in the same spirit, accepting for his livelihood whatever the people can afford to give him. A Vaishya will pursue wealth-producing occupations for the welfare of the community, keeping for himself enough for his own maintenance and rendering the balance to the community in one shape or another. A Shudra will perform physical labour in the same spirit of service.

Varna is determined by birth, but can be retained only by observing its obligations. One born of Brahmin parents will be called a Brahmin, but if his life fails to reveal the attributes of a Brahmin when he comes of age, he cannot be called a Brahmin. He will have fallen from Brahminhood. On the other hand, one who is born not a Brahmin but reveals in his conduct the attributes of a Brahmin will be regarded as a Brahmin, though he will himself disclaim the label.

Varna thus conceived is no man-made institution but the law of life universally governing the human family. Fulfilment of the law would make life livable, would spread peace and content, end all clashes and conflicts, put an end to starvation and pauperization, solve the problem of population and even end disease and suffering.

But if varna reveals the law of one's being and thus the duty one has to perform, it confers no right, and the idea of superiority or inferiority is wholly repugnant to it. All varnas are equal, for the community depends no less on one than on another. Today varna means gradations of high and low. It is a hideous travesty of the original. The law of varna was discovered by our ancestors by stern austerities. They sought to live up to the law to the best of their capacity. We have distorted it today and have made ourselves the laughing-stock of the world. No wonder that we have today amongst the Hindus a section which is bending its energies to a destruction of the institution which in their opinion spells the ruin of the Hindus.

And certainly one need have no mercy for the hideous distortion, which means nothing but destruction of Hinudism.[1]

II

I do not for a moment suggest that there should be no restrictions about food and drink or about marital relations. I do not myself regard it a duty to eat whatever is offered and in whatever company I should chance to be, and I regard it as nothing short of self-indulgence to marry according to one's fancy. Strict restraint is the law of life and must, therefore, govern these relations no less than others. I hold that there are rules about diet. Man is not an omnivorous animal, nor may he pick up his mate wherever he likes. But restrictions on marital or social relations have nothing to do with varnadharma, which is a different thing altogether. I can conceive blameless marital relations between different varnas, and people of different varnas seated together to eat food permissible to all. There is evidence enough to show that in ancient times there were no watertight compartments between varnas, so far as marital and social relations went, and I have no doubt that, in making varna a mere matter of restrictions about food and drink and marriage, we have done Hinduism grave harm.

Though the law of varna is a special discovery of some Hindu seer, it has universal application. Every religion has some distinguishing characteristic, but if it expresses a principle or law, it ought to have universal application. That is how I look at the law of varna. The world may ignore it today but it will have to accept it in the time to come.

I would define the law briefly thus: The law of varna means that everyone shall follow as a matter of dharma—duty—the hereditary calling of his forefathers, in so far as it is not inconsistent with fundamental ethics. He will earn his livelihood by following that calling. He may not hoard riches, but devote the balance for the good of the people.

The four varnas have been compared in the Vedas to the four members of the body, and no simile could be happier. If they are members of one body, how can one be superior or inferior to another? If the members of the body had the power of expression and each of them were to say that it was higher and better than the rest, the body would go to pieces. Even so,

[1] The Gujarati original of what follows appeared in *Harijanbandhu*, 3-9-1934.

our body politic, the body of humanity, would go to pieces, if it were to perpetuate the canker of superiority or inferiority. It is this canker that is at the root of the various ills of our time, especially class-wars and civil strife. It should not be difficult for even the meanest understanding to see that these wars and strife could not be ended except by the observance of the law of varna. For it ordains that everyone shall fulfil the law of one's being by doing in a spirit of duty and service that to which one is born. Earning of livelihood is the necessary result. But the law has to be fulfilled for its own sake. Its due observance by a large part of mankind will end the conflicting inequalities and give place to an equality in diversity. All callings would be equally reputable—whether that of the minister or of the lawyer, of the doctor or the leather-worker, of the carpenter or the scavenger, of the soldier or the trader, of the farmer or the spiritual teacher. In this ideal state of things, there would be no room for the monstrous anomaly of the three varnas lording it over the Shudra, or of the Kshatriya and the Vaishya enjoying themselves in their palaces and the Brahmin contenting himself with a cottage and the Shudra toiling for the rest and living in a hovel. This chaotic state of things indicates that the law of varna has become a dead letter.

When, if ever, the ideal state of things, as indicated above, had been reached in India, I do not know. But I do hold that it is the only ideal state that is easy enough to approach and that it is not only for the Hindus but for the whole of humanity.

Under such dispensation, all property will be held by its respective holders in trust for the community. No one will claim it as his own. The king will hold his palace in trust for his people and will collect the taxes only to be used for the benefit of the people. He has the right to have no more than is enough to keep him, the rest belongs to, and shall be spent only for, the people. Indeed, he will, by virtue of his resourcefulness as a ruler, add to what he collects from the people and return it to them manifold. The Vaishya likewise is such a trustee. The Shudra is made so. Indeed, if one may have preference, the Shudra, who performs body-labour in a spirit of service and duty, who has nothing to call his own and who has no desire for ownership, is worthy of the world's homage; he is the lord of all because he is the greatest servant. The dutiful Shudra will, of course, repudiate any such claim, but the gods will shower their choicest blessings on him. One may not say this of the proletariat of the

present day. They certainly own nothing, but I expect they covet ownership. The calling of labour and service is no pleasant duty to them. It is a painful task, for it does not satisfy even the cravings of the flesh. My praise is for the ideal labourer. It is the estate I have longed to attain.

But this duty of labour cannot be imposed on anybody. In fact, the panegyric may be uttered only by those of the three varnas who fulfil the law themselves, viz., the law of regarding and behaving themselves as the servants of the community and holding all the property in trust for it. The three varnas exist today only in name, they are supposed to invest one with a higher status than that of the Shudras and have ceased to imply any duty to be performed. There is nothing, therefore, to be surprised at, nor to be sorry for, when in such a state of things the Shudras should be jealous of the others' possessions and their estate and seek to share them. When the law of varna was discovered, there could be no compulsion from without. The world can only be sustained by a willing and dutiful observance of it.

In an age where competition is held to be the law of life, and possession in the largest measure of the world's goods the *summum bonum*, and when everyone counts oneself free to follow any calling one likes, this attempt to hold up varna as the law of life may well be regarded as an idle dream, and an attempt to revive it as childish folly. Be that as it may, it is my firm conviction that it is true socialism. In the language of the *Gita*, it is equality of the spirit, without which no other equality is possible. The performance of it, no matter how slight, bodes well both for him who performs it and for the rest of mankind.

I may add that, though the varnas are to be four, the number is not, in my opinion, unalterable. In the future reconstruction, the number may be more or even less than four. What is essential is that one must seek one's livelihood, and no more, from following the vocation to which one is born.

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

Harijan, 28-9-1934, and *Harijanbandhu*, 16-9-1934 and 23-9-1934

68. *'BLESSED POVERTY'*[1]

Several years ago, a close friend and associate belonging to a rich prosperous family, who had received a high degree of education and had travelled and seen much in different parts of the world, solemnly abjured the use of all vehicular and other means of transport and has ever since stuck to his resolve through all vicissitudes of weather and health. He has kept up correspondence with me. I have preserved one of his letters which I received during my Harijan tour, in order to share it with the readers of the *Harijanbandhu*. I am sure the following excerpt from it recounting some of his experiences will be appreciated by them:

> Of the many vows that I took, I have found the one about travelling on foot to be the most beneficial. It has afforded me the richest experience. As a result of it, my faith in God today is much stronger than it was when I set out from Ahmedabad about a couple of years ago.
>
> Having had experience of both riches and poverty, I am in a position to testify today that, whilst I have almost always found pride and licence threatening the life of the rich and whilst those who wielded authority could not without difficulty escape the intoxication of power, poverty alone left enough scope for a spontaneous and natural devotion to God, a spirit of service and the capacity to suffer and to endure. I have now clearly realized that the state of voluntary poverty is really a blessed state and that riches, in the worldly sense, are nothing in comparison. May God always keep me in poverty and keep me free from the slightest desire for possession or from the care for the morrow.
>
> Everywhere I have found that men despise the sinning and the fallen, and yet who amongst us can claim to be immaculate? I have at last grasped the great secret of shunning sin but not the sinner.

This friend has travelled on foot from Gujarat to and beyond Dehra Dun, has passed through hundreds upon hundreds of villages and come in contact with the villagers. His testimony should, therefore, command our respect. Kindred spirits in all climes and

[1] The Gujarati original appeared in *Harijanbandhu*, 23-9-1934. The text reproduced here, except the last paragraph, is from the abridged version in *Harijan*.

ages have borne similar testimony to the joy and beauty of travelling on foot and renouncing all worldly possessions. Thoreau's *Walden* in praise of walking is well known. All the great reformers of the world who have from time to time effected religious revolutions have eschewed the use of vehicles and walked thousands of miles for delivering their mission. Yet, by the intensity of their faith and the strength of their realization, they were able to achieve what we, in our aeroplane age, with all the gee-gaws at our command, could hardly aspire to. Not mad rush, but unperturbed calmness brings wisdom. This maxim holds as true today as when it was first propounded ages ago.[1]

Those who hear of this aspirant's experience will not all take to walking nor will they pray to become poor. Also they may not distinguish between the sin and the sinner and learn to love the sinner and abhor sin. But it will be no mean achievement if we learn the value of this attitude and try to follow it as best as we can. A Harijan worker at any rate ought to do nothing less than this.

Harijan, 12-10-1934, and *Harijanbandhu*, 23-9-1934

69. *ROBBERY IN THE NAME OF RELIGION*

I give below extracts from a letter[2] which Shri Chhotalal Gandhi of Ankleshwar has written to me regarding the Harijans of Sajod.

While the wound of Talaja is still fresh, here is another. Everywhere it is the same. The law says that Harijan Hindus enjoy equal civil rights with caste Hindus. Even the officials are ready to help. But the fanatic Hindus seem to care little for the law or order of the officers. How to overcome such utter ignorance? Ahimsa seems defeated and love seems to dry up. But I find the pen quoting the lines: "As long as the elephant relied on his own strength, it availed him not" and "Rama is the strength of the weak" and they comfort me. Ahimsa is true ahimsa only if it keeps shining even in the midst of darkness all around. The remedy for *himsa* is ahimsa, for hatred love and for untruth truth, as the remedy for cold is sunshine.

[1] What follows is translated from Gujarati.

[2] Not translated here. It described the harassment of Harijans in Sajod, in Ankleshwar taluka, consequent on the insistence of the authorities that the Harijan pupils in the local school should be permitted to sit with the other pupils.

If there are sincere, religious-minded reformers in Sajod, they are sure to win in the end. Let the fanatic caste Hindus do as they please. The reformers should shelter the oppressed Harijans. They should rigidly adhere to the rule that they will refuse to avail themselves of any facility not permitted to the Harijans. They should of course secure for the latter officers' help whenever necessary. They should plead with the caste Hindus to keep within proper limits. Let the orthodox Hindus take bath or do any other expiation if the Harijans exercise their rights and enter a public place. The Shastras do not enjoin punishment of the Harijans. They only say that anybody who regards himself polluted should take a bath. No Shastra suggests that we should harass or beat the person by whom we regard ourselves polluted. This is so simple a thing that the reformers should have confidence in themselves and, keeping within the bounds of ahimsa, go on doing their duty.

The suggestion to send some well-known public worker to Sajod and the nearby places is certainly a good one. But visits by the leaders in Ankleshwar taluka itself are likely to produce better results than a visit by someone sent from a distant place. We cannot always rely on such outside help. Ultimate success will depend on the ceaseless vigilance, ability and capacity for self-restraint of the local workers.

[From Gujarati]

Harijanbandhu, 23-9-1934

70. LETTER TO DR. GOPICHAND BHARGAVA

September 23, 1934

DEAR DR. GOPICHAND,

I have your letter and the important enclosures. I will have to find time to go through them carefully. I cannot bear the thought of your being a puppet agent. Either you must [have] an effective voice or you should not be in it. I will write to Shankerlal about it.

DR. GOPICHAND BHARGAVA
LAHORE

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

71. *LETTER TO ESTHER MENON*

September 23, 1934

MY DEAR CHILD,

I have your letter and now letters from children. I am glad that they like the place. Of course you cannot give another name to your bungalow, and the expression "Vision Bungalow" is quite good and significant.

Andrews was here a week ago and he would be back on Tuesday from Santiniketan. Mira expects to be in Bombay just in time for the Congress session.

Ramdas had fever and general debility. He is now better.

I understand that the spinning-wheel was sent to Porto Novo, and I hope that it has now come to you. I would like to know the progress made upon it.

How nice it would be to have you here at this time! The weather is superb—very cold, [*sic*] not too much sunshine and yet enough of it.

With love to you all and kisses to children,

BAPU

MRS. ESTHER MENON
VISION BUNGALOW
TANJORE

From a photostat: No. 131. Courtesy: National Archives of India. Also *My Dear Child*, pp. 107-8

72. *LETTER TO JHINABHAI JOSHI*

September 24, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

With reference to your letter of the 20th instant, received yesterday, it seems to me that your question can be answered in two ways. If the exhibition is to be an exhibition of things that India has been able to produce, exhibits such as you refer to have their proper place in such an exhibition. If, however, the exhibition is a purely educational effort made to encourage khadi and swadeshi in terms of the millions, then I should exclude rigorously

anything that has no direct bearing on the manufactures made today by the millions of villagers in the villages. I have no right to say anything further, or to give any further guidance. Your Committee are the proper judges to decide what the exhibition is for, or what it should have.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI JHINABHAI JOSHI
CONGRESS HOUSE
A.I. KHADI EXHIBITION AND SWADESHI BAZAR
BOMBAY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

73. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

September 24, 1934

MISS MIRA,

Your letter is before me. This will probably be my last letter to you while you are in Europe.

Khan Saheb A. Ghaffar Khan is with me. His daughter is with his brother's wife there. He wants the girl to come back and have her training at the Ashram. He would like her to accompany you. Mahadev will send you the address. If you see her, i.e., if this reaches you in time to see her, you will bring the girl with you.

The Brothers' friendship seems to me to be a gift from God.

Love.

BAPU

Government of Bombay, Home Department, Political, File No. 129/34. Courtesy: National Archives of India

74. LETTER TO KHURSHEDBEHN NAOROJI

September 24, 1934

DEAR SISTER[1],

Govindbhai's letter is very strange.[2] If I were you, I should not enter into any argument with him, but simply clear the position. I would still like you to go there—not to find someone else but yourself. Pondicherry is one of the places where such a search may be fruitful. G. has written to me also. I can see no good in complete dissociation from physical human contact. You have to achieve it notwithstanding physical contact. I would like you to go [to] Mayavati or Bellur. You will not dismiss Dayal Bagh from your mind.

Pray do not apologize for writing to me. After all you are a member of the Ashram.

KHURSHEDBEHN
BOMBAY

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

75. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

September 24, 1934

CHI. KAKA,

You may either keep this girl with you or go and live wherever she wants you to live. She is sticking here like a fly importuning me to bring you here for treatment.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10890

[1] The superscription is in Gujarati.
[2] *Vide* "Letter to Govindbhai R. Patel", pp. 75-6.

76. LETTER TO MADHAVDAS AND KRISHNA KAPADIA

September 24, 1934

CHI. MADHAVDAS[1] AND KRISHNA[2],

You will be glad to learn that I had a letter from Medh today in which he has promised to contribute something at any rate. I will let you know as soon as I receive the amount. How much do you owe in all? I hope both of you are well. Do you earn anything?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./XXII

77. LETTER TO JAYA

September 24, 1934

CHI. JAYA,

Bhanu is gradually improving. I have not taken the trouble to know what that welcome gift of a *hundi* is. If you sisters don't like it, by all means don't accept it. Our aim is somehow to propagate khadi by pure means.

Blessings from
BAPU

SMT. JAYABEHN
NENSHI MORARJEE'S BUNGALOW
SEA VIEW, GHODBUNDER ROAD
VILLE PARLE, B.B.&.C.I. RLY.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./XXIII

[1&2] Kasturba Gandhi's brother and his wife

78. LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI

September 24, 1934

CHI. RAMDAS,

I don't like your idea of paying Sharma. His services cannot be rewarded with money. You two have become friends. There can be no giving and receiving money between friends. I think he will feel offended if you offer to pay him. If he does accept, I would be surprised. His needs are being met and I have also been doing whatever else is necessary for him. You need not, therefore, worry about his economic condition. In fact I see from his letters that he would be fully satisfied if you are completely cured physically, mentally and spiritually and if you can testify that you were cured mainly through his instrumentality—and that is as it should be. I would, therefore, advise you to give up the idea of paying him that sum. Having said this, let me repeat that you are a completely free agent and that the money belongs to you. If you think that giving it to him would be the best way of using it, by all means give it. You may rest assured that what pleases you will please me.

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

79. LETTER TO GOVINDBHAI R. PATEL

September 24, 1934

BHAI GOVINDBHAI,

I am surprised to see that you can positively state that our paths are different. You also seem to have forgotten the Ashram rules. As for my aim, you will see even if you read my statement just published that it is the same as yours. It is possible that our paths seem different. How innumerable are the lines which lead from the circumference of a circle to its centre? I suppose you also know that I am all the time in search of a guru. I don't know when I will meet him, but I am striving to deserve one. The game is in God's hands. In any case that Guru of all gurus is always there. I dance as He pulls me.

I read your letter to Khurshedbehn. She is about 40. She is a granddaughter of Dadabhai Naoroji and is a learned woman. She has toured Europe. But still she lacks peace of mind. She has read some writings of Shri Aurobindo. I have, therefore, advised her to go there and have some experience of the place.[1] She is not a woman who would go anywhere merely out of curiosity. I found your letter to her very curt. What do you mean when you say that there will be no objection to her staying in a hotel? If now you realize that your letter was discourteous, write her a courteous letter and invite her.

SJT. GOVINDBHAI
AUROBINDO ASHRAM
PONDICHERRY

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

80. *LETTER TO RADHA GANDHI*

September 24, 1934

CHI. RADHIKA[2],

Krishnadas gave me news about you. There was a letter to Brijkrishnadas from the lady-superintendent of your institution saying that you were having fever with temperature at 100° and have lost ten lb., that you can eat only once a day and felt no appetite in the evening. You occasionally write me a postcard, but it is always practically blank. I think it would be better if, instead, you didn't write at all.

You should understand that, if they say dharma should be practised with proper regard for one's health, while studying also one should take proper care of one's health. Even if you were to stand first in the examination, what good would it do if, in the bargain, you were to become bed-ridden? Why don't you study so as not to endanger your health? Can you not prepare for the same examination in Rajkot? Sushila would certainly help you. You will get there facility for studying all the subjects which you are studying now. The air and water of Rajkot have also agreed with you. Krishnadas says that you have also not been able to

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Khurshedbehn Naoroji", p. 73.
[2] Maganlal Gandhi's daughter

make any friend there. If all this is true, you should write to me so that I might write more. If you are afraid that somebody might read your letters, you should mark them 'Private'. Nobody would then read them.

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

81. LETTER TO PRABHASHANKAR PATTANI

September 25, 1934

SUJNA BHAISHRI,

By all means keep that postcard with you. I don't need it. I pray that Kumarsaheb will soon recover.

As for myself, God helps me to keep working.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5938. Also C.W. 3254. Courtesy: Mahesh P. Pattani

82. LETTER TO KANTI GANDHI

September 25, 1934

CHI. KANTI,

I got your letter. I had already asked [them] to write [to you] before I received it.

Nobody will read your letter, though it contains nothing private and anybody who reads it is likely to learn something from it. I would like it if you send me your articles, etc. I may be able to know your progress from them.

Your time-table is good. Your hours of rising and meals seem to be all right.

I will arrange that a sum of Rs. 5 be sent to you every month as suggested by you. I should like you to let me know your needs without any hesitation. Ramachandran will not accept boarding charges for you. I will respect his wishes.

Your reading is good. Don't mind if he teaches you poems. One should learn them too. I suppose you are learning short-hand only for my sake. I think you have unnecessarily taken up that burden. But I am not asking you to stop it now. It is certainly

a useful thing. I am very glad that you are learning Malayalam. I think it would be very good if you pick it up and also Tamil. It is not difficult for one who loves languages to learn several of them. After you have had some experience there, you may spend some time in Madanapally if you wish to do so. Try to acquaint yourself with the music of that place.

I have not read the book about the renascence. You did well in quoting the passages. Many such things are being written about me. I learn something even from them. At least one learns humility. It is necessary for us to know how others see us. Sometimes they may even be right. For self-examination, such criticism is very useful indeed. Praises are of no help here. One learns very much from criticism.

Write to me regularly.

I receive letters from Harilal regularly. He at any rate says that a very good change has come over him. He is studying the *Gita* fairly well. I have written to him and promised to help him. Let us see what happens. Ba and Ramdas are still at Sabarmati. Ramdas is fairly well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7288. Courtesy: Kanti Gandhi

83. A LETTER

September 25, 1934

Did I write to you about the long letter I received from Dwarkanath? This was as different from his letter to you as an elephant is from a horse. In it he was flying in the air. He had shaken off the bondage of rules and it seemed to him easy to achieve in a matter of days what Vishwamitra had taken years to do.[1]

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

[1] Acquiring complete self-mastery through austerities. *Vide* also p. 108.

84. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

September 25, 1934

CHI. BRAJKRISHNA,

I have your letter. The last letter I have not sent to Damodardas. If the matter is to be clarified you should write to him direct. I have no idea if I shall have any time to spare in Bombay.

I do not see any harm in accepting a maintenance allowance from your brothers. You cannot but accept it from some source or the other if you devote all your time to serving.

As your brothers cannot render service themselves there is nothing surprising if they supported one who wishes to serve; it will be a noble act. So far you could be said to have been observing *aparigraha*[1]. But accumulating the amount in balance is as good as stealing and outright possession. What can a really poor man do for his friends? Should he steal and give them money? This is not friendship but enmity which you are practising. Why should you not announce to all your friends that you are no more a Chandiwala[2] but only a poor servant. Their friendship will be proved true if they remain your friends even in your poverty. Have you any idea how you and they became friends? You had money and they squandered it right and left. All that you write in this respect is only self-deception. At any rate, this is my reading. But you are not to act upon it till you have truly realized it. Your heart's bidding should be regarded as the truth though the world may pronounce it false.

What can you possibly do in Bombay during the Congress session? Do you want to fall ill? Why need you leave the quiet of Mussoorie? Stay on and spin more, engage in deeper introspection and make yourself fit. But even in this matter your own inclination must not be repressed. For my part I am keeping everyone away.

Blessings from
BAPU

[1] Non-possession

[2] Literally, 'a dealer in silver'

[PS.]

I am writing to Radha.[1] It might not be advisable to eat *roti* till the digestion has returned to normal. But follow the doctor's advice.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2425

85. LETTER TO ANNAPURNA

September 25, 1934

CHI. ANNAPURNA,

Your letter. I shall send in a few days a note about testing the strength and the uniformity of yarn.

Tell Father that Deenabandhu Andrews will not be able to go to Utkal. He has to leave Bombay on October 6.

I am pleased that you all plan to work in a new field. Do tell me all about it.

Blessings from
BAPU

SMT. ANNAPURNA KUMARI
P. O. BARI CUTTACK
DIST. CUTTACK

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2785

86. LETTER TO V. V. DASTANE

September 25, 1934

The strongest reason for wearing khadi and sacrificial spinning is that we would thus identify ourselves with the poorest. Khadi which at present appears costly to us can in course of time become the cheapest of all cloth and that too with just a little effort on everybody's part.

DASTANE
BHUSAVAL

[From Hindi]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Radha Gandhi", pp. 76-7.

87. LETTER TO HORACE G. ALEXANDER

September 27, 1934

MY DEAR HORACE,

I love you all the more, if more was possible, for your frank letter. You will be surprised to know that long before I received your letter I had expressed the opinion that Jawaharlal could present the Indian case more convincingly than I before English audiences. What you have said therefore is not new to me. But even apart from that I am quite sure that I must not leave India for the present at any rate. I can speak to you all more effectively from here. Nor do I think that any purpose can be served by sending Mrs. G.[1] there alone. I am sure that both she and I must be dismissed from the minds of English friends in so far as our visit is concerned. I want every minute I can have for the things I have said in my recent statement[2].

Love to you and Olive[3].

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1423

88. LETTER TO SITARAM SASTRY

September 27, 1934

DEAR SITARAM SASTRY,

I have your letter enclosing me a report of the Khaddar Samsthan. You give me therein the speed of *takli* spinners. It is very poor compared to the results obtained here. Therefore my opinion is that someone should learn the method of spinning adopted here. It is a brilliant discovery. The highest speed attained is 400 rounds per hour. It is easily learnt. The average speed attained here is over 200 rounds. Little children learn the method much more quickly than old men like me. I am trying to learn

[1] Kasturba Gandhi

[2] *Vide* pp. 3-12.

[3] Addressee's wife

it. I have not mastered it, but I have no doubt that with a little perseverance I shall be able to do well.

I am not yet satisfied with the barter method in which paddy has been adopted as the standard. It requires very careful study.

I have not been able to reach your letter received previously with the report. I refer to the letter in connection with the A.I. S.A. I am simply overwhelmed with work, and I have as yet only limited capacity.

SHRI SITARAM SASTRY
CHANDOLE P. O.
GUNTUR DT.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

89. LETTER TO AMRITLAL D. SHETH[1]

September 27, 1934

MY DEAR AMRITLAL,

With reference to our conversation of yesterday, I know that my letters and my talks about the Congress attitude in respect of the Princes and the people of the Indian States have given rise to some misunderstanding. It surprises me that anybody should think that I do not consider them to be an integral part of the Indian nation. Of course they are, even as Indians residing in the other parts of geographical India are. Though we are under different systems of Government, surely we are one. I was also surprised to be told by you that some persons attribute to me the opinion that people of the Indian States who are members of the Congress are so by sufference. There is a definite provision in the Congress constitution for their being enrolled as members, and those who subscribe to the Congress objective and carry out the other rules governing the membership have as much right to be enrolled as members as any other Indian.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI AMRITLAL D. SHETH
(CAMP) WARDHA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] A similar letter without the last but one sentence was sent to the addressee on October 9, 1934.

90. *LETTER TO C. ABDUL HAKIM*

September 27, 1934

DEAR SIR,

I thank you for your letter forwarding resolution of the District Board, North Arcot. I am grateful to the Board for the resolution.

Yours sincerely,

JANAB C. ABDUL HAKIM SAHEB BAHADUR
PRESIDENT, DISTRICT BOARD, NORTH ARCOT
ARKONAM

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

91. *LETTER TO K. RAMA MENON*

September 27, 1934

MY DEAR MENON,

In connection with Shrimati Matilda B. Kallon I am quite satisfied that although she is born a Christian she will have no hesitation in imparting religious instruction to Harijan boys and girls in accordance with the tenets of Hindu faith. There should, therefore, be no difficulty about entrusting the hostel to her care on the ground of her being born a Christian.

Here is a copy of her letter to me.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

SHRI KONGATTIL RAMA MENON
ADVOCATE
CHALAPURAM (CALICUT)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

92. LETTER TO MATILDA B. KALLON

September 27, 1934

MY DEAR MATILDA,

I have your letter. I have written[1] to K. Rama Menon to the effect that your being a Christian should not be in the way of the hostel being entrusted to your care. Your letter is completely satisfactory.[2]

SHRIMATI MATILDA B. KALLON
NETTUR
TELLICHERRY, N. MALABAR

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

93. LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI

September 27, 1934

BA,

I have replied to your letter. It is not right to ask you both to come over to Wardha just now. Let the treatment at the hospital there also be completed. The climate there leaves nothing to be desired. It is a different thing if Ramdas does not like the place. You should, therefore, have patience. God will see that everything ends well. Rajendrababu is leaving tomorrow, and Sardar too.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Bane Patro, pp. 26-7

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.
[2] *Vide* also pp. 25-6.

94. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

September 27, 1934

CHI. JAMNALAL,

Vallabhbhai tells me that you are thinking of buying a cloth mill in . . .[1]. By "you" I mean your firm. I was certainly shocked to hear this. I felt that it was wrong for a person like you, who had taken so much interest in khadi, to own a cotton mill; but I could not decide whether I should write to you. Meanwhile, Janakimaiya[2] came here yesterday. She had appeared at the Madhyama examination and was mentally relaxed. She has been upset since she heard this story. She cannot understand for whom you want to burden yourself with this responsibility. The sons also do not like the idea. And the servants say that since you will now have a mill of your own, you will not ask them to wear khadi. Nobody likes your decision. Please, therefore, give up this plan of buying a mill. If you have already bought it, find some means of saving yourself from this evil. Let the partners buy it if they wish. If you want to engage yourself in some business, there are many others. If you wish to earn more money so that you may spend it for public good, we shall do without such contribution. Om[3] asks me whether I have advised you to buy a mill because I need money for the Congress. What answer can I give to such questions? If you can, send a wire giving the happy news that you have abandoned the plan.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2943

[1] The name has been omitted.
[2] & [3] Addressee's wife and daughter

95. LETTER TO LILAVATI MUNSHI

September 27, 1934

CHI. LILAVATI[1],

There will be no room for the danger that you envisage. I am planning from right now. As you know, I don't rely on votes in my favour for doing anything. It is enough that I get a measure of what the politically minded desire. Please have no fear.

My being out [of the Congress] does not mean that I shall be idle. I will continue to ply my charkha, perhaps with increased speed. But surely one hand is not enough for clapping. Hence I shall certainly need whatever help people can give.

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

96. LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI

September 27, 1934

. . .[2] Whatever is happening is for the good. One gains all this by submitting to God's will. Whatever happens, the mind that has offered up all the acts to the Lord never feels discontented. One who is conscious of the "I" is satisfied with nothing. Know that this contains all that is worth knowing. It is true, of course, that it is difficult to cultivate the attitude of offering up all the acts to the Lord. However, if after knowing the truth we ceaselessly strive to follow it in practice our contentment will go on increasing.

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

[1] K. M. Munshi's wife

[2] Omission as in the source

97. *DISCUSSION ON SWADESHI*[1]

[Before *September 28, 1934*]

Q. How does this *new* swadeshi differ from the *old*?

A. The old emphasized the indigenous nature of the products, irrespective of the method or the produce or the prospects of the product. I have ruled out organized industries, not because they are *not* swadeshi, but because they do not need special support. They can stand on their own legs and, in the present state of our awakening, can easily command a market. According to the new orientation, if it is new, I would certainly have our swadeshi organization to seek out all village industries and find how they are faring. We will have experts and chemists who will be prepared to place their knowledge at the disposal of villagers. We will, through our experts, offer to test the articles manufactured by village handicraftsmen and give them suggestions to improve their wares and would sell them if they would accept our conditions.

Q. Would you take up any and every handicraft?

A. Not necessarily. I should examine each one of them, find out their place in the economy of the village life and, if I see that they must be encouraged because of inherent merit, I should do so. Now, for instance, I should be loath to allow the village broom to be replaced by the modern broomstick or brush. I would ask Mrs. Gandhi and other women of the household to tell me about the relative merits of both. Mind you, I would consider the advantages from all points of view. Thus, the village broom, I should think, must be preferred because it indicates tenderness and kindness to small life, whereas the brush makes a clean sweep of those things. Thus, I should see a whole philosophy behind the broom, for I do not think the Creator makes any distinction between minute insects and (in His estimation) minute men.

Thus I should pick up all kinds of village crafts and industries which are about to die and deserve revival, both because of their intrinsic merit and their other useful aspects, and I should

[1] This appeared under the title "More Talks on Swadeshi". Mahadev Desai has summarized here the discussion Gandhiji had with a number of persons.

thus go on making discoveries. Take our trifling tooth-sticks, for instance. I am quite sure, if you were to deprive the bulk of the Bombay citizens of their tooth-sticks, their teeth would suffer. I cannot contemplate with equanimity the modern tooth-brush replacing the tooth-stick. These brushes are unhygienic. Once used, they deserve to be thrown away. However much disinfectants you may use to sterilize them, they can never be as good as fresh ones. But the *babul* or *neem* tooth-stick is used once for all and has highly astringent properties. Again, it serves the purpose of a tongue scraper. The West has yet to discover anything so hygienic as the Indian tooth-stick. You may not know that a doctor in South Africa claimed to have controlled tuberculosis among the Bantu miners by insisting on the regular use by them of these tooth-sticks. I would be no party to the advertisement of modern tooth-brushes even when they are made in India. I should declare my preference for the tooth-stick. This is cent per cent swadeshi. If I take care of it, the rest will take care of itself. Ask me to define the right angle and I should do it easily, but do not ask me to define the angles between the acutest and the most obtuse you can make. If I have the definition of a right angle, I can make whatever angle I need. Though swadeshi is eloquent enough as its own definition, I have called mine cent per cent swadeshi, because swadeshi is in danger of being watered down. Cent per cent swadeshi gives sufficient scope for the most insatiable ambition for service and can satisfy every kind of talent.

Q. You see swaraj at the end of it?

A. Why not? Once I said in spinning-wheel lies swaraj, next I said in prohibition lies swaraj. In the same way I would say in cent per cent swadeshi lies swaraj. Of course, it is like the blind men describing the elephant. All of them are right and yet not wholly right.

If we tap all our resources, I am quite sure we can be again the richest country in the world, which we were, I suppose, at one time. We can repeat the phenomenon, if we cease to be idle and profitably occupy the idle hours of the millions. All we need is to be industrious, not like a machine, but like the busy bee. You know I am now advertising what I call "innocent honey"?

Q. What is that?

A. Honey scientifically drawn by scientific bee keepers. They keep the bees and make them collect honey without killing them. That is why I call it innocent or non-violent honey. That is an industry which admits of great expansion.

Q. But can you call it absolutely non-violent? You deprive the bee of its honey, as you deprive the calf of its milk.

A. You are right, but the world is not governed entirely by logic. Life itself involves some kind of violence, and we have to choose the path of least violence. There is violence even in vegetarianism, is there not? Similarly, if I must have honey, I must be friendly to the bee and get it to yield as much honey as it will. Moreover, in the scientific bee culture, the bee is never deprived of its honey altogether.

Harijan, 28-9-1934

98. SOME CONUNDRUMS

A Brahmin of Mithila writes a long letter in Hindi, but wants a reply in the English *Harijan*. From his style I can quite clearly see that he knows English well. His letter contains questions of universal importance. The original is being sent to the editor of *Harijan Sevak*. I gladly give below the substance of the letter.

The correspondent belongs to an orthodox family, but has shed all prejudice against Harijans and permits all but those who are manifestly unclean, such as unwashed Doms, to draw water from a well which has hitherto been open only to the so-called high-class Hindus. He says:

1. Why don't you preach to Harijans cleanliness, abstention from carrion-eating and the like, just as you preach to caste Hindus removal of untouchability?

2. What is the distinguishing characteristic of a sanatani Hindu? Why do you claim to be a sanatani Hindu?

3. You have said that, when a man forsakes his hereditary calling, he creates confusion of caste. How far is this consistent with the meaning inferable from the use of the expression[1] in the first chapter of the *Gita*?

4. What have you to say to the verses in the *smritis* on the marriage of a Brahmin woman with a Shudra man?

5. You say there is no superiority or inferiority among the four varnas. I believe in what you say, but is it consistent with many texts one can quote from the Shastras which clearly enunciate the opposite? See what the *smritis* have to say of Shudras.

[1] *Bhagavad Gita*, I. 41

6. You say that varna or caste is determined generally by birth. You also say that a Brahmin who does not show in his conduct the marks of one falls. To what varna does he belong? What about a Shudra who shows the mark of a Brahmin?

7. It is said that a man becomes what he eats and that he is corrupted if he takes food or even water prepared or even touched by a corrupt person. And you say that prohibition against inter-dining is not an integral part of varna or caste rule. Is that so?

8. When workers like me work against untouchability, sanatanist opponents say all sorts of things against you. We combat most things. But your having taken the life of the dying calf in the Ashram we have not been able to explain. Are you able to throw light on this question?

The original letter is well reasoned and is written with a pure motive. I don't know if I have, in the process of condensation, done justice to the spirit in which the original has been written. If I have not, the correspondent should know that the injustice is wholly unintended. Now for the reply.

1. I do preach to the Harijans cleanliness, abstention from carrion-eating and intoxicating drinks and drugs, necessity of taking education themselves and giving it to their children, also abstention from eating the leavings from caste Hindus' plates, etc. Only, I do not put these before Harijans as condition precedent to the removal of untouchability. On the contrary, I suggest to caste Hindus that the shortcomings are not inherent in Harijans but that they are due to our criminal neglect of—even deliberate suppression of—these brethren of ours. Therefore, the disappearance of these shortcomings will take place sooner for our fraternizing with Harijans even as they are and then helping them to become better men and women. That is the least penance caste Hindus can do for the past wrongs. We must approach Harijans as penitents or debtors, not as their patrons or creditors extending generosity to the undeserving.

2. Belief in, and practice of, varnashrama dharma may be said to be the distinguishing characteristic of Hindu dharma. The translation appearing in this *Harijan* of a Gujarati preface[1] I have written for a collection of my writings on the subject explains what I mean by varnashrama dharma. I regard myself a sanatani Hindu, because I try to the best of my ability to obey

[1] *Vide* pp. 61-7.

the eternal precepts of the faith as embodied in the Shastras as I understand them.

3. That a person creates confusion of caste when he leaves his hereditary calling is obvious. When a Brahmin begins to earn his bread by, say, following the profession of a barber or engineer, he does create confusion of caste, as much as when a barber or an engineer begins to impart religious instruction as a means of livelihood. In the *Gita,* the adjective used in reference to women is 'wicked'. It has, therefore, reference probably to promiscuous intercourse rather than the offspring born of the sacred tie of marriage.

4. I do not regard as revelation the collection of verses printed under one cover as *smritis.* I have no doubt that there are many interpolations in the *smritis* and other scriptural books. As I have said often enough in these columns, I reject as interpolations everything in the *smritis* or other writings that is inconsistent with truth and non-violence or other fundamental and universal principles of ethics. There is abundant testimony in the ancient writings to show that such marriages were permitted.

5. This question is answered in the answer to the fourth question. The idea of superiority and inferiority is repugnant to the most elementary principles of morality. A Brahmin who considers himself superior to any single creature of God ceases to be a knower of Brahma. If we are children of the same God, how can there be any rank among us? The very first mention of varna in the Vedas likens the four varnas to the four main parts of the body. Is the head superior to the arms, the belly and the feet, or the feet superior to the other three? What will happen to the body, if these members began a quarrel about rank? The law of varna is one of absolute equality among all the creatures of God. It is the basis of all the religions of the world. The verses in the *smritis* about Shudras deserve to be summarily rejected as being contrary to the spirit of humanity.

6. Both the Brahmin and the Shudra who forsake their *svadharma* are fallen. In their fallen state, they belong to no varna. They can repair their mistake by resuming *svadharma*—their own calling.

7. It is insolence for any person to regard a fellow-being as corrupt and, therefore, untouchable. A man is corrupted by harbouring corrupt thoughts, making corrupt speech and doing corrupt acts, never by taking water or food at the hygienically clean hands of fellow-beings. I do believe that a man has to choose the ingredients of the food he eats.

8. Workers must not seek to defend me against aspersions nor resent them. They are the common lot of reformers. Aspersions have never hurt any person in the world. What hurts is the wicked thing a man does. Workers have enough on their hands in having to defend the cause they have taken up. I have no sense of shame or repentance over the taking of the life of the dying calf, whose agony I could see but could not alleviate in any other manner. I must not dwell here on the ethics of the act. If the correspondent or any reader is curious about it, he must procure the writings[1] in *Young India* and *Navajivan* of the time when the act was performed.

Harijan, 28-9-1934

99. *MAHARASHTRA HARIJAN SEVAK SANGH*

I had referred to Shri Rajbhoj's complaint[2] to Shri Marathey, Secretary of the M. P. H. S. S., and he sends the following prompt reply[3].

From the accounts sent to me, I abridge due receipts and give the expenditure in details. The receipts during the period covered amounted to Rs. 15,638-6-0, and the expenditure was:

		Rs.	a.	p.
Administration	..	2,793	7	9
Propaganda	..	577	0	0
Welfare	..	6,772	14	2
Scholarships	..	346	0	0
Wells	..	275	0	0
Advances, grants	..	2,798	1	0

Harijan, 28-9-1934

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXXVII, pp. 310-5, 338-41, 361-2, 381-6 and 408-11.
[2] This appeared in *Harijan*, 7-9-1934. *Vide* also Vol. LVIII, pp. 383-4.
[3] Not reproduced here

100. LETTER TO H. G. JAGIRDAR

September 28, 1934

DEAR SIR,

I have your letter. It was with difficulty that I gave a message to the Columbia Company.[1] I am sorry that I could not undertake to give any more messages.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI H. G. JAGIRDAR
RUBY RECORD CO., CHURCHGATE HOUSE
CHURCHGATE STREET, FORT, BOMBAY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

101. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

September 28, 1934

BHAI THAKKAR BAPA,

Write to the Utkal [office] about the sum of Rs. 500. This matter may be considered to have been settled now. The tour expenditure is in my mind all the time. I am delaying the matter for a few days because Jamnalalji is not here.

About Surajbehn, pressure is being brought to permit her to stay in Seva Mandir for six months. I am thinking what our duty is. Can you suggest a possible line of solution?

I was taken aback by what I learnt about Satcowriebabu. I wonder how that happened. The accompanying papers are for your information. Ghanshyamdas should write to Dr. Bidhan.

If you find any difficulty in deciphering this letter, please let me know.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1143

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLVIII, pp. 8-10.

102. CABLE TO MIRABEHN

September 29, 1934

MIRABAI
CARE ALEXANDER
WOODBROOKE
SELLY OAK, BIRMINGHAM

GOD LIGHT YOUR PATH. BLESSINGS.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6299. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9765

103. LETTER TO AKSHAYA KUMAR ROY

September 29, 1934

DEAR AKSHAYABABU,

I was distressed to hear through Deenabandhu Andrews that you were suffering from leprosy. I was, however, glad to learn that there was every chance of your getting rid of it, as the treatment was begun in the early stage of the disease. May God give you peace.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI AKSHAYA KUMAR ROY
18 GOBRA HOSPITAL
GOBRA ROAD, CALCUTTA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

104. LETTER TO ANANT P. GHURYE

September 29, 1934

MY DEAR GHURYE,

I have seen your letter to Sardar Vallabhbhai, and he has handed me the 10 Rupee *hundi* for which I thank you. I shall use the *hundi* for distributing khadi among deserving Harijans. But I do not like your anxiety for name and fame. Many have laid down their lives for the country. Their names are written in the Book of God, and not in that of men. Whatever is written in the books of men is bound to perish one day, and their merit in God's books is diminished to the extent that the names appear in men's books. Let the public celebration of such anniversaries and public recognition in other forms be reserved for those who are known to fame. But let the memory of those who are not so known remain for ever unknown. Let us cultivate the virtue of regarding virtue as its own reward.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI ANANT PARASHURAM GHURYE
HANUMAN TERRACE
BLOCK 12 AB, LAMINGTON ROAD
BOMBAY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

105. LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI

September 29, 1934

BA,

You must be getting my letters all right. If Ramdas does not recover his full strength you should cancel your visit to the Congress session. It is not worth attending. Nimu cannot be taken to the session where everything would be crowded. Women with encumbrances must not visit a place where one has to do with what little comfort comes one's way. Should not Ramdas think of a change of climate only after he is perfectly all right?

Please do not bother yourself about this. Use the mosquito curtain for yourself.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Bane Patro, pp. 27-8

106. LETTER TO SARITA

September 29, 1934

CHI. SARITA,

I read your postcard. You must have received my earlier letter. I have asked Mani to consult a doctor. I think Sumitra ought not to be given cereals. You may give her cucumbers if tender ones are available. Also tomatoes if ripe ones are available.

Cereal food might not agree with her condition. There is no harm in letting her have a few almonds, also raisins. I hope you keep well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: G.N. 11531

107. LETTER TO SUDARSHAN V. DESAI

September 29, 1934

CHI. MAVO[1],

I got your letter. It would be good if you write your letters with somebody by your side. We must not use toys from England or from any other country. We should be content with whatever Indian toys we can get.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 5740. Courtesy: Valji G. Desai

[1] Valji G. Desai's son

108. LETTER TO VIMALCHANDRA V. DESAI

September 29, 1934

CHI. NANU[1],

I got your letter and article. Your handwriting leaves much to be desired. The letters in the same word should not be written apart. It would be good if you showed your letters to somebody after writing them. How long do you intend to stay there?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 5739. Courtesy: Valji G. Desai

109. LETTER TO JAIKRISHNA P. BHANSALI

September 29, 1934

CHI. BHANSALI,

I get your letters. I like them. I have not replied to them because you didn't give your address. I am writing this because now you have given it. I am very glad to learn that you have removed the stitches from your lips. The natural thing is to speak or remain silent as one feels an urge from within. External means produce only a temporary effect.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

[1] Valji G. Desai's son

110. A LETTER

September 29, 1934

CHI. . . .[1],

I have already told you that I smell impurity in the relation between you and R[2]. I told Kishorelal about this and he told Kaka. The latter wanted to know clearly what I meant. I think it my duty to let you know what I have told him in reply. It seems to me that consciously or unconsciously your attraction for each other is like that which obtains between a man and a woman. That such attraction may exist unconsciously to oneself is proved by experience. It does not necessarily result in action. I have tried to find some other cause for your infatuation, but have not succeeded. I have clearly observed that your relationship has benefited neither you nor R. It is not at all befitting that, because he has served you personally, you want everybody else to admire him. I am doing you no injustice by writing this. Even if there is no impurity in you, I would cease to be your loyal co-worker if I did not put before you the suspicion that might arise in my mind. You should feel neither hurt by what I have written nor get angry. Examine yourself and write to me frankly. I will believe what you state to be perfect truth. I don't believe that you would knowingly hide any blemish in you.

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

[1] & [2] The names have been omitted.

111. LETTER TO SURESH SINGH

September 29, 1934

CHI. SURESH[1],

I had your letter. Ranisaheba must have received my telegram. Birth and death are a part of our destiny. Why should we rejoice or grieve? You have to carry on the banner of Dada's good work and comfort Ranisaheba. I hope that the Management will remain as before. Do keep writing to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 8688. Also C.W. 2892. Courtesy: Kumar Suresh Singh

112. THE HARIJANS OF SAJOD

I have already written in the previous issue something about the harassment of the Harijans of Sajod.[2] Now a Harijan from Sajod describes how the Harijan children are being tortured. I am not publishing his letter since it contains nothing new. It is a good sign that the Harijans have now started writing and talking about the tortures they have been undergoing. Right now, I would advise patience to this friend who has written to me and also to other Harijans. Some of the so-called caste Hindus of the place have been trying to protest against these tyrannies. Let the Harijan men and women help them with courage and fearlessness. That would do for the time being. I often hear of cases where Harijans are afraid to do even this much. It happened in Talaja. I have just received a letter from Maharashtra complaining about a girl being bodily tortured, but the girl as well as her relatives are not prepared to give evidence. They apprehend more harassment if they gave evidence. Nor is their apprehension without a ground. That is why those Harijans who are prepared to testify to harassment deserve to be complimented. It is certain that such harassment is not going to last

[1] Younger brother of Raja Avadhesh Singh of Kalakankar who had just died

[2] *Vide* "Robbery in the Name of Religion", pp. 69-70.

long, because, on the one hand, caste Hindus are becoming more and more aware of their duty towards Harijans, and, on the other, Harijans are becoming more and more conscious about their harassment. God always takes the side of justice. With this faith, let Harijans and caste reformers continue to do their duties.

[From Gujarati]

Harijanbandhu, 30-9-1934

113. SHUDRA BY CHOICE

A co-worker has sent a few questions regarding the varna system out of which I propose to take up only one. The question can be thus put in my own words:

> Since you are running after varnadharma please solve some of my problems if you can. The *Gita* describes agriculture, animal husbandry and commerce as the natural functions of the Vaishyas. Commerce means selling by one person to another goods produced by a third. Or, the seller may produce the goods himself. The number of people engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry runs into crores. Even so Bharwads[1], Mochis[2], Chamars, and [some] peasants are today regarded as Shudras, whereas according to the definition given above they ought to be all regarded as Vaishyas. In my view and yours all the four varnas should be looked upon as equal, living humbly on the same level, not mounted on one another's shoulders arrogantly crushing those below them. But we know our society has a different opinion. In these circumstances why should not such peasants, Bharwads, Chamars, etc., as are not employed as labourers but earn their livelihood by their own independent effort be regarded as Vaishyas? The peasant tends his own farm, Bharwads and Chamars engage in animal husbandry. They are not anybody's servants. If we do not accept them as cattle-breeders, then they are traders, in so far as they themselves sell what they produce. In no way can they be covered by the definition of a Shudra. On the contrary, why isn't anybody who is a servant a Shudra—whether he is judge or governor, soldier or scavenger?

These complications are real. They crop up because the

[1] Shepherds

[2] Cobblers

varna system has broken down. The solution does not lie in regarding shepherds, etc., as Vaishyas. Would the proud Vaishyas admit in their supposedly exclusive varna those who are regarded as Shudras? The above argument is no doubt convincing. But justice cannot be administered just by a convincing argument. For administering justice one has to reach the bottom and it can be reached only through experience.

Experience tells us that the varna system has been wiped out. So, for the restoration of varnadharma we must all voluntarily become Shudras. Of course we are Shudras but only because we cannot help it. But there is no merit in an act done out of helplessness. It is no act of merit, if I give a few coins to somebody out of compulsion. But if I give willingly what I have hitherto given out of compulsion, it would be such an act. The same is true of the Shudra varna. He who realizes this may belong to any so-called higher varna but by considering himself a Shudra he makes a beginning of the restoration of the varna system.

Let us consider its implications. One who has become a Shudra by choice would serve others as a matter of dharma. He may or may not earn his livelihood, but with pure heart would devote himself body and mind to service. He would purposely restrict himself to marrying amongst and dining with such of the so-called Shudras who follow the rules regarding personal cleanliness, etc. He would completely identify himself with the class regarded as Shudra. He would accept their poverty as far as possible. He would try to help them get over their weaknesses. Such a Shudra in spite of his possessing spiritual knowledge of a Brahmin, the fortitude of a Kshatriya and the business acumen of a Vaishya would earn his bread only through his service. In the varna system each varna may follow the good points of all the four varnas. It ought to be so. For instance, the *smriti* enjoins:

"Do not kill. Speak the Truth. Do not steal. Follow the path of sanctity. Control your sense organs. This in brief is the dharma Manu has prescribed for all the four varnas." (1)

Or,

"Do not kill. Speak the Truth. Do not steal. Do not yield to desire, anger, greed and be loving and good for all living creatures. This dharma is common to all the four varnas". (2)

Hence, what distinguishes one varna from another is that its special characteristics are conspicuously developed in its case and through them alone should the particular varna earn its livelihood.

[From Gujarati]

Harijanbandhu, 30-9-1934

114. NOTES

AN ODIOUS PRACTICE[1]

A friend[2] from Dholka writes:

> In the voters' rolls for the Municipal, the Local Boards' and the Councils' elections that are being published at present, the names of franchise-holders, when they happen to be common folk, are, instead of being put down in full, recorded in an abbreviated form. This is, especially in the case of Harijans, an insult to the holders of the names. As I perused these lists in the papers, I felt that this was an uncalled for and gratuitous, though unintended, insult to the Harijans which must be stopped. I discussed this question with the Assistant Collector in charge of Dholka taluka. I understand that instructions have been given to the Talatis in this taluka to record the names of Harijans in full. But in other places the odious practice remains in force. What is wanted is a general declaration of the official policy in this respect.
>
> This might at first sight appear to be a trifling matter. But it has a significance. I have no doubt in my mind that the contemptuous way in which these people are treated in their daily intercourse is in some measure aggravated by this practice.

The correspondent is certainly right. By itself the matter might seem to be trivial, but it is one more instance of arrogation of caste superiority. It does, therefore, call for prompt attention. Apart from injuring Harijan feelings, the use of undignified nick-names in voters' lists scarcely does credit to our good taste. Let us hope that all those who have the service of the Harijans at heart will henceforth scrupulously eschew this objectionable practice and that the authorities will lose no time in taking the necessary steps to discontinue it in the course of administrative routine.

Harijan, 12-10-1934

[1] The Gujarati original appeared in *Harijanbandhu*, 30-9-1934.
[2] Dahyabhai M. Patel

115. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

September 30, 1934

CHI. NARANDAS,

I am observing silence just now. I do this frequently in order to overtake the correspondence. Before I started the silence, I had told Kishorelal to reply to your previous letter. I am now replying to your letter received today.

It seems desirable to me that, before we help Harilal to open a store, he should go round selling khadi and that, too, only in Porbandar. He himself will not find it convenient to travel from place to place just now. Even if you decide to open a store, you should not do that in haste.

A letter for Santok is enclosed.[1] How does she meet her miscellaneous expenses? Solve the problem yourself without reference to me.

Kanaiyo[2] is settling down.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I. Also C.W. 8417. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

116. LETTER TO VITHALDAS JERAJANI

September 30, 1934

BHAI VITHALDAS,

Please go through the accompanying figures and let me know whether they are correct. Swami has studied them and he says that 40 per cent of khadi proceeds is kept by the trader and the producer gets only 60 per cent. If this is correct, we should change it. We don't wish to propagate untruth even unknowingly.

We should also examine how much of the 60 per cent is received each by the cultivator, the ginner, the carder and the weaver, and publish the figures.

[1] This letter is not available.

[2] Addressee's younger son

You have omitted one step in the process. It should be shown how much is received by the handloom worker who weaves mill-yarn. And the figures relating to Indian mills are certainly not given in the right manner. The payment received by the workers should be shown separately. Also, separate figures should be given for mills which use foreign cotton and those which use indigenous cotton and the cost of machinery should be given.

Moreover, Manibehn told me that an attempt was made once to charge 15 annas a yard for a piece of khadi which was priced at 12 annas a yard. But through oversight the original price-mark on the piece was left intact. The customer noticed it and the dealer, feeling embarrassed, then charged at the rate of 12 annas. What could it mean?

The third complaint is that our prices are the highest.

Please inquire and let me know.

I hope you keep good health.

Lakshmi[1] just seems to have vanished!

Blessings from
BAPU

Enclosed: A slip

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9786

117. LETTER TO VITHALDAS JERAJANI

September 30, 1934

BHAI SHRI VITHALDAS,

Enclosed is a khadi *hundi* for Rs. 10. Buy with it khadi which may be useful to Harijans and distribute it among Harijans selected by you. Let me know what you do. If you can't decide, consult Nurgisbehn.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9786-a

[1] Addressee's brother's daughter

118. LETTER TO SIDDHIMATI

September 30, 1934

CHI. SIDDHIMATI,

I got your letter. Your handwriting is poor. The lines are not straight. Improve this. If you wish to observe *brahmacharya*, you should live separately from Mahadev, never be alone with any other man or touch him without reason. You should be absorbed in your work and keep Ramanama inscribed in your heart all the twenty-four hours of the day.

SIDDHIMATI
HUBLI

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

119. LETTER TO BEHCHARDAS

September 30, 1934

BHAI BEHCHARDAS,

I got your letter. I showed it to Kakasaheb. He is not satisfied with your work. He also says you have not returned to him Rs. 25 which was paid to you in connection with your work and which you have to return. There are other complaints too. In these circumstances he has no wish or courage to entrust you with any work.

BEHCHARDAS
DELHI

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

120. LETTER TO VIYOGI HARI

September 30, 1934

BHAI VIYOGI HARI,

Your letter.

"The slanderer is our brother." We have no reason to avoid the people who talk ill of us, we have to beware of those who praise us.

I have not seen the articles on Hindi, I shall see them now.

The Hindi article is enclosed.

I did have a letter from Ranisaheba. All that was possible was done. So why need we worry further?

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Prithuraj says that he has some dues from *Harijan Sevak* the bill for which has been submitted. Please look into the matter.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1076

121. LETTER TO DUNCAN GREENLEES

October 1, 1934

DEAR DUNCAN,

I have your greetings and your prayer both of whieh I value.

Yes, I do agree that a seeker of Truth can find it when alone. But the word 'alone' does not mean solitary confinement. It means that he must not be clogged in any way.

I hope you are keeping well. You have said that I had not answered some point in your letter. What was it? I hope you are receiving the *Harijan* also.

SHRI DUNCAN GREENLEES
BARALING
KHEDI SAOLIGARH, BETUL DT.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

122. LETTER TO M. TAYABULLA

October 1, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. It is a most difficult thing for me to interfere in the matter you mention. It is essentially a matter for you, local men, to settle. In any case, I must not intervene.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 61

123. A LETTER[1]

October 1, 1934

DEAR FRIENDS,

I have your letter for which I thank you. It is essentially a domestic matter which the local people should settle. In any case, I dare not interfere. You can act up to the formula that I have presented—he who has the least chance should retire.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 1

[1] Found among the letters to Gopinath Bardoloi

124. LETTER TO DWARKANATH

October 1, 1934

CHI. DWARKANATHJI,

It is surprising that you did not get my letter. I had also returned your long letter with it. I had not shown it to anybody, nor had anybody read the reply, though, according to me, there was no necessity for such secrecy. I see that all your views have changed. What you regarded so long as dharma now seems *adharma* to you. If you are indeed right, maybe all of us are wandering in darkness. This is what Tulsidas has said: How can a man who believes untruth to be truth be delivered from his delusion? Who is to decide what is truth? Let us, therefore, bear with each other. Anybody who can do in 14 days what Vishwamitra took 14 years to do, will deserve the humblest reverence from all and his light will not remain hidden. I think, however, that you have fallen into grave error. I have been trying to lead a life in accordance with the ideals of the Ashram for nearly 50 years now. There is likely to be less chance of error in them. Dinkar had shown me your letter to him. What a contrast between that and your letter to me!

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

125. LETTER TO JAIMINI BHUSHEN MITTRA

October 2, 1934

DEAR JAIMINIBABOO,

I am not taking any interest in the individual selections. I have suggested the principle on which both the parties should act. You should convince Dr. Roy that the other candidate is no good.

JAIMINI BHUSHEN MITTRA
MORE STREET
CALCUTTA

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

126. LETTER TO M.[1]

October 2, 1934

MY DEAR M.,

I have your letters. I hope you duly received mine which has . . .[2]

I see from one of your letters that you have again lost the conviction of guilt. You seem to doubt your untruthfulness. Do you not realize that you were regarded by the responsible persons as almost a saint, in purity! But who am I to judge you, if you cannot yourself? God alone is the infallible Judge. May He show the way. I can but pray that you and we may see the Light and follow it.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

[1] The name has been omitted.

[2] Omission as in the source

127. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

October 2, 1934

BHAI THAKKAR BAPA,

I got your letter regarding your budget. What you write I had never thought of. I don't see the point of Ghanshyamdas and myself sitting together to scrutinize it. Nor does it seem right to me to spare ten days for such scrutiny. I should like merely to glance through it. If you send me copies of the original, together with a note containing your recommendations, I would go through them at leisure and send my suggestions. I don't in the least understand the necessity of spending two or three thousand rupees for scrutinizing budgets.

Yes, if you wish you may call a meeting yourself. And if my presence at the meeting is necessary, it can be held here only. But whatever is to be done can be done only in November. I shall not be able to spare even one minute during this month.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1144

128. LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI

October 3, 1934

CHI. HARILAL,

I have your letter. Narandas has been a little hasty. I am sending a wire to you today as follows:

> "Delay spending money received from Narandas. Await letter. Bapu"[1]

I woke up at 2.30 and started thinking about my dharma towards you. I couldn't go to sleep again and left the bed at 2.45. After cleaning my teeth and drinking warm water with honey, I have set down to write this.

I want the loan which Narandas may give you to be debited to his private account. Till I am quite sure, I do not wish

[1] This is in English.

to draw your expenses from a public fund or secure them from friends in public life. It would be compromising dharma to do so.

I do not yet believe in your regeneration. I must have independent proof of that. I, therefore, do not wish to ask you for an assurance to that effect. However, I wish to assure myself through your conduct. If you have produced a good impression on Ishvarlal with whom you are staying, ask him to write to me. And let me have your own replies to the following questions.

1. Have you touched liquor any time after you wrote your first letter to me from there?

2. Have you indulged in sexual pleasure through mind, speech or body?

3. Do you smoke?

4. Have you any other addiction?

Let there be this understanding between you and me. If at any time you break your word to me or if it is proved that you have deceived me, I should fast for at least seven days. I may fast even longer, if I wish and have the strength to do so, in case your breach of promise or misdeed pains me very much.

Though I was still hopeful about you, I had hardened my heart to stone and did not give you any monetary help. But I felt from the letter which you wrote to me from Porbandar that there had been a change of heart in you and wanted to give you whatever help I could.

If you have come to have trust in my way of life and my understanding of dharma, you will be convinced of the correctness of whatever demands I make or advice I give. Please do not ask me to discuss and explain, but carry out my suggestions as a patient does those of a vaid as so many orders. Do not do anything through a feeling that because I am your father you have a special dharma towards me. You may have such dharma to help me when I am completely disabled. But in this matter treat me as a friend, a vaid and a co-worker. Why are you so keen on staying in Porbandar? It would be convenient for me to help you if you stayed in Rajkot.

If, however, you decide to stay in Porbandar, I will have no objection to your staying in our ancestral house. Is any part of it vacant? Does it get good air?

Till I am satisfied, and Ramjibhai also is satisfied, that you have become steady, please give up the idea of starting a store.

With the help of khadi samples, you may secure what orders you can in Porbandar.

If you have come to have the same faith in the spinning-wheel

and khadi that I have, you should enthusiastically start learning spinning on the *takli* and the spinning-wheel, and spin daily on the former. Learn all the antecedent processes also. You can do all this more easily in Rajkot. Are you ready to live with me and under my eyes? I may like you to do that after the Congress session is over.

Kakasaheb and Kishorelalbhai are here with me. And Vinoba also, of course.

Whatever you do, do after full deliberation. Do not do anything that is beyond your strength, nor anything that does not appeal to your heart or reason. Do not try to establish good relations with me merely in order that you may be able to live. You have been able to do that somehow all these years. Doesn't God provide for everybody, good or bad, in some manner or other? But imperfect man must continue to discriminate between good and evil till the end of his life. Nobody living in the flesh has become perfect or will ever become, for the marriage of the *atman* with the material body is in itself a limitation of its perfection. Marriage by its very nature is a limitation. When the *atman* becomes a perfect *brahmachari*, it will no longer create new bodies for itself. But why need I take you into all this?

May you attain the highest good. May God dwell in you. He alone is your true Guru. "Friends of the body but care for their own interests; they will keep away at the end." You should, therefore, do as the self within bids you, with God as witness. It will not hurt me in the least if you do not accept my advice. But it will hurt me very much indeed if you deceive me. I am an old man now, and you are not a child.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

129. LETTER TO SHAM LAL

October 3, 1934

DEAR LALA SHAMLAL,

Herewith letter from Shri Ramrichhpal Singh. I detained the letter asking the writer for permission to send it to you, as it contained statements that appeared to me to be startling and which I was not prepared to believe until I had referred the letter to you. You would please now let me have your criti-

cism upon the letter and return the letter with it. I have not kept a copy of that letter.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

130. LETTER TO H. P. MODY

October 3, 1934

DEAR MR. MODY,

Here is a copy of the appeal for help from Gorakhpur. The distress is untold. The signatories to the appeal are all well-known men. Baba Raghavdas, who is in charge of relief operations, tells me that he has sent an appeal to mill-owners for cloth. He has had response from Delhi. But I understand that at the time he wrote to me there was no response from Bombay or Ahmedabad. I commend this appeal to the attention of the mill-owners of Bombay.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

H. P. MODY, ESQ., BOMBAY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

131. LETTER TO DR. B. JAYARAM

October 3, 1934

DEAR DR. JAYARAM,

I thank you for your letter of 29th ultimo with reference to Shri Bhole's admission to the Princess Krishnajammanni Tuberculosis Sanatorium, Mysore. I take it that you have advised Brahmachari Ramachandran of Bangalore with whom Shri Bhole is staying and who, I know, is in correspondence with you.

Yours sincerely,

DR. B. JAYARAM, M.B., ETC.
MEDICAL OFFICER
PRINCESS KRISHNAJAMMANNI TUBERCULOSIS SANATORIUM
MYSORE

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

132. LETTER TO DR. S. SUBBARAO

October 3, 1934

DEAR DR. SUBBARAO,

It was very kind of you to have sent me a letter showing that you had issued prompt instructions to admit Shri Bhole. I have now heard from the Medical Officer in charge of the Sanatorium saying that he was ready to admit Shri Bhole and that he would be treated free of charge.

Yours sincerely,

DR. S. SUBBARAO, B.A., M.B., M.R.C.S.
VISVESVARAPURAM
BANGALORE CITY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

133. LETTER TO MANAGING GOVERNOR, BHARAT STORES

October 3, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your two letters. With reference to the first, you will find the ink referred to by me advertised in the Directory published by the Allahabad Swadeshi League. The Bombay concern which is new is not to be found in it. Its address is: Dolatram Kashiram & Co., Thakurdwar Road, Bombay 2. With reference to the second letter, I cannot undertake to open your store.

Yours sincerely,

MANAGING GOVERNOR
BHARAT STORES, LTD.
AGRA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

134. *LETTER TO NAGENDRANATH SEN*

October 3, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I never said to anybody that the chances of the various candidates were to be discussed by me with Shri Aney.[1] All that happened between us was that we confirmed the principle that in order to avoid a domestic quarrel the candidate who had the least chance of success should withdraw.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI NAGENDRANATH SEN, B.L.
KHULNA (BENGAL)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

135. *LETTER TO B. SUBBANNA*

October 3, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I am grateful to you for the beautiful casket which I have just received. I shall try to get the best price possible for it and use the proceeds for the khadi and Harijan service.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI B. SUBBANNA, RETIRED JUDGE
BASAVANGUDI
BANGALORE CITY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* "Gandhi-Aney Statement", pp. 38-9.

136. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

October 3, 1934

CHI. NARANDAS,

You will find with this a letter from Harilal and a copy of my reply[1] to him. You will see from my reply what my advice is. It is true that security will have to be offered for whatever he borrows. It would not be proper to advise him to enter into such transactions [just now]. If you think it necessary that he should be given something for his daily expenses on food, etc., and if you can spare money for that, give him what he needs from your private account. If you cannot, let me know. I will think over the matter.

Jamnadas has come here. He is leaving for Jamshedpur today. We had a long talk.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I got your letter regarding the dairy. I will decide immediately now. About Sankaran in my next letter.

[Encl.] Two sheets

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I. Also C.W. 8418. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

[1] *Vide* pp 110-2.

137. LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH

October 3, 1934

CHI. NARAHARI,

I have just received a letter from Narandas in which he says that the working of the dairy is steadily deteriorating. Therefore we have to settle at once the question in the name of which body its accounts should be kept. I have been putting off a decision in your absence. If you now can examine its working and give your decision, please let me have it soon.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

About other things Kishorelal is writing.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9065

138. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

October 3, 1934

BHAI THAKKAR BAPA,

Mama[1] will leave the Ashram on the 9th. As discussed between us two, I had told him that if he could not subordinate himself to your control, he must leave the Ashram. I cannot ask for his expenses from any other source. The Provincial Committee, too, would not support an independent institution. This argument has appealed to Mama. Please, therefore, write to Parikshitlal to pay the expenses up to the date of his handing over control. He has been paying the expenses up to now, but I had written to him and asked him not to pay further.

Though Mama will thus be free from the Ashram, we certainly wish to support him. It would be excellent if he settles down in a village and starts working with Bhangis. If he does so, we shall have to think later how to meet his expenses.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4042

[1] Vitthal L. Phadke

139. LETTER TO VITTHAL L. PHADKE

October 3, 1934

CHI. MAMA,

I got your clean letter. I have already written to you that I will believe what you say. I, therefore, welcome your assurance. But it does not change my view about . . .[1] . If he cannot behave as a soldier, he certainly cannot continue to work in the Sangh.

MAMA PHADKE
GODHRA

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

140. LETTER TO SARITA

October 3, 1934

CHI. SARITA,

I have brought up my sons in the same manner that I was. And when they grew up, I treated them [as I was treated]. When my elders sent me as a guest to their friends in Bhavnagar and Ahmedabad, I had to suffer much more at both places than you have had to. I had somtimes to go hungry, but I did not feel unhappy about it. What else could they have done? Should they have set up a separate establishment for me? I learnt much from that experience.

For Ramdas also, what more should I do? He went to Ahmedabad only to be able to live in the Harijan Ashram. He is being looked after there very well. What did he lack here? What more can be done for Nimu? Moreover, I am a poor man. I beg for whatever I spend. However, I go even one step further. No matter how poor I am, they get some facilities which even the rich do not get. We have no right at all to such facilities, but since we get them we accept them with humility.

[1] The name has been omitted.

You did very well in pouring out your heart. It was my dharma to explain to you your duty, which I have done. Live more peacefully now.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

141. LETTER TO DEVIBABU

October 3, 1934

BHAI DEVI BABU,

You have already heard about the lapse committed by Satcowriebabu. Dr. Bidhan states that he himself undertook no responsibility as regards the money matters. Therefore he acknowledges no moral obligation on his part, which is probably right. But in my view you and Bhagirathji are certainly responsible. If you two feel similarly you should make good the loss of the H. S. S.[1] I think no one could have suspected Satcowriebabu. But when I used to have some money in my possession I had done what I am now suggesting you to do. I have nothing to say if you two do not approve of this proposal.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Hindi]
From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

142. LETTER TO G. B. PRADHAN

October 4, 1934

DEAR SIR PRADHAN,

I have your letter regarding the appeal made by your Committee for donations to the Indian Women's University. I do hope that the appeal will receive a generous response from the public. Everybody knows the valuable service rendered by Prof. Karve so nobly and so selflessly to the cause of women's education, and I have no doubt that the public should set his mind at rest in

[1] Harijan Sevak Sangh

the evening of his life with regard to the future of an institution to which he and his have dedicated their lives.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SIR G. B. PRADHAN, B.A., LL.B.
MITHABAI'S MANSION, FIRST FLOOR
CHARNI ROAD, BOMBAY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

143. LETTER TO G. S. NARASIMHACHARI

October 4, 1934

DEAR NARASIMHACHARI,

Here is my message:

"Students can easily spin in the name of and for the sake of *Daridranarayana* for half an hour daily without any interference with their studies and can add something, be it ever so little, to the wealth of the country and establish a living connection with millions of their countrymen who are strangers to education and who never know from year's end to year's end what a full meal is."

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI G. S. NARASIMHACHARI
C/O VICE-CHANCELLOR, ANDHRA UNIVERSITY
WALTAIR

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

144. LETTER TO G. RAMACHANDRAN

October 4, 1934

Mahadev has been writing to you about Kanti[1]. If you will feed him and can, I must accept the position. Kanti does need some pocket money. He suggests Rs. 5 per month. You should let me find it from some friend here. Please therefore pay him at that rate from the date of his arrival there. I shall send you some money later on. Let Kanti understand how this comes.

Did I ever acknowledge your letter about the Travancore circular on the Congress ? Your step was quite good. Was there any result from it ?

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

145. LETTER TO KAMALA NEHRU

October 4, 1934

CHI. KAMALA,

You must have received the letter I wrote to you. I do wish to come to you but also realize that it would not be right. From somewhere or other I manage to get news of you. And Feroz[2] sends a daily postcard since Prabhavati came away. Keep up your spirits. You should not worry on account of Jawaharlal's absence from your side. It is good that Indu[3] has arrived. Tell her to write to me. Recite Ramanama.

Blessings from
BAPU

KAMALA NEHRU
ALLAHABAD

[From Hindi]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

[1] Kanti Gandhi was staying with the addressee; *vide* "Letter to Kanti Gandhi", pp. 77-8.

[2] Feroz Gandhi

[3] Indira, addressee's daughter

146. LETTER TO KHURSHEDBEHN NAOROJI

October 4, 1934

It is a great consolation that you are near Kamala. Your letter fills me with hope. I expect to hear from you fuller details about Dr. Bidhan's visit. Of course she is in my mind always which means also in my prayer. I wonder if she received the long letter which I sent her only a few days ago. Prabha writes to her from time to time. Please give her the enclosed.[1] Does she read letters? Naturally I expect no reply from her. But if she has any message to send me, you are now the living medium. Is fruit being regularly received there?

Encl. 1

SHRI KHURSHEDBEHN NAOROJI
ANAND BHAWAN, ALLAHABAD

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

147. LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI

October 4, 1934

CHI. HARILAL,

I got your letter. I liked it. I am glad that you have gone to Rajkot. If you continue to accept my advice with more and more conviction, your good will be assured and I shall feel supremely happy. God has given you sufficient ability. It is not too late yet. If the heart has become pure, the body also will regain its light. I will write more in the next letter.

I think Bali[2] should be repaid the money that you have spent.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.
[2] Addressee's sister-in-law Balibehn Adalja

148. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

October 4, 1934

CHI. NARANDAS,

I read Sankaran's letter. What he says is not correct. Malabar was included in the Harijan tour and I had met both Sankaran and Raghavan. I know about Sankaran's school also. He is working with somebody else. It is the duty of the local Harijan Sevak Sangh to run that school. Ramachandran of the Ashram is now working in it, as also Shyamji. There is no reason whatever for Sankaran to leave Malabar. A decision to this effect was taken when I met him. He was getting enough for his needs. In fact there was no need to send him any help. I did not like Sankaran's letter. I am writing to him. I shall enclose a copy of the letter.

Kanu seems to be doing well. I don't exercise much direct supervision over his work. Mahadev and Pyarelal do that.

What was the cause of so much loss in the dairy? On how much production did this loss occur? What do you think should be done now?

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Shankerlal has come here. You should pay a visit to Ahmedabad and see things for yourself. I do hope that the loss was not due to carelessness or dishonesty on anybody's part. Though we do not know yet whether the dairy will be run independently or be handed over to the Ashram, its management must be put on a proper basis.

Harilal has gone there. His work seems to be above board. If, therefore, he stays on there, there would be nothing like it. See about his eyes and teeth, too. A letter for him is enclosed.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I. Also C.W. 8419. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

149. LETTER TO K. SANKARAN

October 4, 1934

MY DEAR SANKARAN,

I have seen your letter to Narandas. I did not like it. I thought that it was agreed between us when we met in Malabar that you were to make your way in Malabar and that you have to be absorbed in the work there. I therefore do not understand this desire to go to Gujarat. Your sphere is Malabar, and now that Ramachandran is in sole charge of the work, your way should be simple and easy. You should get all you need from the Sangh.

BAPU

K. SANKARAN
HARIJAN VIDYALAYAM
MAYANOOR (MALABAR)

From a microfilm: M.M.U./I

150. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

October 4, 1934

BHAI THAKKAR BAPA,

Herewith a letter from Saranprasad. You had better see him. If all that he says is true, he deserves, I think, to be accepted as a useful man. He can be put in the institution which we intend to start there or at Sabarmati.

It would be worth while if you write one or more articles in *Harijan* about the "aborigines"[1]. But it is for you to consider whether you can get that much free time.

BAPU

Encl. 1

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1145

[1] Gandhiji uses the English word.

151. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

October 4, 1934

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I had received your letter yesterday and, as suggested by you, had asked Kishorelal to write to you. The pressure of work is fairly heavy. I can barely cope with it. Every day something is left over. Aney came and met me yesterday. Nekiram also was here the day before yesterday. I suggested that Aney and you could still get together and have a discussion and in case there was a difference of opinion should refer the matter to an umpire. As umpires I suggested the names of Bahadurji[1] or Tej Bahadur[2]. The suggestion didn't appeal to Aney. He said that the names would go on changing till the scrutiny was over and that, if anything was possible, it could be done only after that. This for your information.

There is one more thing. Aney said he would have preferred the elections to take place in November. I told him that you did not postpone them just for the sake of Malaviyaji and that if he wired to you, you might extend the time. I don't know whether this is possible. I advised against postponement for the convenience of Malaviyaji's party. If Malaviyaji himself desires postponement, it will certainly be an advantage to us in other ways. But this matter is beyond me.

You will find with this a letter from Dr. Gopichand. What he says is worth thinking over. I will only tell him in reply that I have passed the letter on to you. Please look into this carefully.

I am sending Devdas's letter also. Tear it up after reading it. Devdas doesn't want the matter to be discussed anywhere.

What has appeared in *The Free Press* about the Vidyapith Library?

I hope Mani visits Sumitra. Ask her to write to me and tell me what the doctor says.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 137-8

[1] A Parsi advocate of Bombay
[2] Tej Bahadur Sapru

152. LETTER TO DR. GOPICHAND BHARGAVA

October 4, 1934

DEAR DR. GOPICHAND,

I have your letter. I appreciate all the information you are giving me. I am not interesting myself in individual elections. But Lala Sham Lal's case has somewhat involved me. Lala R. P. Singh has sent me a string of complaints against him. So I have after getting permission sent the letter to Lala Sham Lal.[1] That is the extent of my interest. Sardar's case is different. He does interest himself in these things. I have therefore sent your letter to him.[2] You should also write to him. This duel should be prevented if it is at all possible. For you, you should be outside this struggle altogether except when you can effectively intervene to prevent a fight.

The picture you give me of members is sad.

I am attending the Congress, but I am not going to divide it on the questions raised by me.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

153. LETTER TO DWARKANATH

October 4, 1934

CHI. DWARKANATH,

I got your third letter. This is my third reply too. I did not tell Dinkar that you were indolent. After reading your letter to him he asked for monetary help. I refused it and told other friends also not to send a single pie, for in your letter you had explained your unmanly intention of doing nothing and letting yourself die. I described that as sloth and told him that he would be doing an ill turn to a friend if he encouraged such an attitude. You have now entered the third *yuga*[3]. Your letter to Dinkar

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Sham Lal", pp. 112-3.

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

[3] Literally, 'age'. The analogy is of the four *yugas* of Hindu mythology representing progressive physical and moral deterioration in the people during each succeeding age.

represented the first, your long letter to me the second and the letter following that the third. There is no independent work for Sharma for this year at any rate. He is at Khurja . . .[1] just now. He will be returning in two or three days. What shall I write to you? Act as God prompts you.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHIMODE'S WADA
VEGETABLE MARKET
AMRAOTI

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

154. NEED FOR EXACTNESS

A correspondent sends a newspaper cutting containing a notice in praise of khadi. From it I take the following relevant paragraphs:

> A rupee spent on foreign cloth means one anna and a half to Indians, while annas fourteen plus half an anna go direct into foreign trade's growth.
>
> A rupee spent on mill-cloth means half the amount for the mill-owner, annas six to instruments of production and two annas into foreigners' pockets.
>
> A rupee spent on khadi means the whole of the amount minus management expenses—one anna—to the producer alone.

The sender asks if it is true that every rupee invested in khadi means fifteen annas going to the producers and only one anna going to the salesmen. I can only answer that the ideal set before the managers in charge of the A. I. S. A. stores is that the prices should be so regulated as to show on the total sales a surplus, in order to cover expenses, of one anna for every fifteen annas worth of khadi received from the producing depot. The fifteen annas will, therefore, include several other items, e.g., freight, etc. Hence it is altogether wrong to say that of every rupee invested in khadi fifteen annas go to the producer.

After khadi leaves the weavers' hands, it undergoes many processes—washing, dyeing, calendaring, storing in intermediate depots and so on. If the term 'producer' is confined to the grower,

[1] Illegible in the source

the picker, the ginner, the carder, the sliver maker, the spinner, the bobbin winder, the warper, the sizer and the weaver, but not the workers of the processes after weaving, the producer gets probably no more than eight annas in the rupee. It is usual and proper to exclude the other processes, as they are not necessary for fulfilling the purpose of khadi and may or may not have been done by villagers or workers properly so called. Washing, dyeing, etc., are often done through organized, i.e., capitalist concerns. Now, all those who contribute to the increase in the selling price of khadi do not divide the wages with the producer, in other words, do not take the bread out of the mouth of the producer, but help him to find a market for his manufacture, and this they do even when they are capitalist concerns. For, the latter do not at present work for their profit, but work, no matter from what motive, for the sake of the producer. Therefore the whole truth seems to me to be more conducive to the advertisement of khadi than the undoubted, though unconscious or igorant, exaggeration in the notice under discussion. If I was the draftsman of the notice, I should say:

'When you buy a rupee worth of khadi, know that the producer retains the full fruit of his labour, whereas, when you buy cloth manufactured by indigenous mills, you wholly deprive him of that beneficial labour, without providing him with a substitute. The agency that sells khadi gets nothing but the bare living expenses and is, therefore, on a par with the producer.'

Thus it will be found that a critical study of the economics of khadi will show that it is a crime against semi-starved humanity for any Indian to use any cloth but khadi. Such a person takes a morsel out of the mouth of some already famishing villager. Khadi suffers, not because of any intrinsic defect; it suffers because of the ignorance of its friends and foes alike.

But it is necessary to examine the buyer's case. The advertisement is misleading from his viewpoint. Khadi will sell at half the present price, if he will revise his taste, i.e., if he will buy unbleached khadi and put all the ornamentation he likes, afterwards. He need not bother his head about it, if the cost is no consideration. But let the buyer to whom cost is a consideration know that he pays much less for unbleached and unadorned khadi than for prepared and bleached khadi. Moreover, unbleached khadi lasts longer than bleached. The public should also know that during the past twelve years khadi has become much cheaper and better in texture. It has put more money into the pockets of the individual spinners by improving their tools and increasing their

skill. This could not have happened, if some educated men and women had not dedicated themselves to the task of helping the semi-starved but partially employed millions. The one key industry of India which supplemented the agricultural labour would never have died, if the distorted notion of varna or caste had not regarded these millions almost as untouchables, beneath the notice of the self-styled higher class.

No doubt there are defects in the khadi organizations: there is not complete dedication, there is not enough critical study of every problem that demands a solution. But this is not a matter of surprise. We cannot, in a moment, get rid of habits of a lifetime. We cannot, all of a sudden, develop the cunning of the hand. The science of khadi requires technical and mechanical skill of a high order and demands as much concentration as is given by Sir J. C. Bose to the tiny leaves of plants in his laboratory before he wrests from them the secrets of nature held by these fellow creatures of ours.

What is then wrong with the notice complained of is not its over-valuation of khadi but its clumsy and inadequate presentation of its case. And this comes from want of exactness due to inadequate appreciation of truth. Every one of the three paragraphs hopelessly fails when tested on that infallible anvil.

Harijan, 5-10-1934

155. LETTER TO CYRIL J. MODAK

October 5, 1934

DEAR MISS MODAK,

I have your letter. It is a most difficult thing for me just now to spare even a few minutes to read things outside my present beat. You will, therefore, please forgive me for my inability to go through your appeal. In any case, I could not have endorsed your appeal because it is against my practice to identify myself with such appeals.

I remember your having handed me cuttings from the *Social Reformer* containing your articles. I could not undertake to print them in pamphlet form.

Yours sincerely,

MISS CYRIL J. MODAK, M.A.
MISSION HIGH SCHOOL
GANJIPURA, JUBBULPORE

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

156. LETTER TO GANESH CHANDRA BISWAS

October 5, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

Shri Satis Chandra Das Gupta has forwarded your letter of 28th September, 1934, to me. It was duly received yesterday.

I wish every success to your meeting, and hope that you will impress upon the members present the necessity of taking their full share in the movement of self-purification, which removal of untouchability means.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI GANESH CHANDRA BISWAS
CHAIRMAN OF THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE
BANGIYA RAJBANSHI KSHATRIYA SAMITY
3 GOLAN SASTRI LANE, CALCUTTA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

157. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

October 5, 1934

DEAR SATISBABU,

I have your letter. I have sent a message to the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Bangiya Rajbanshi Kshatriya Samity.

It was not for me to send the Khan Brothers under care of anybody. I had to respond to the invitation from Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. I was in no mood to send them anywhere, but I could not refuse this invitation. Nevertheless I asked them to visit Khadi Pratishthan and know you, and I wrote to you that you should make their acquaintance.

I await the result of my letters about Satcowriebabu.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

158. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

October 5, 1934

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I got your letters. I am glad that you have saved yourself from the unhappy business of buying a mill. The effect which the fear of that tiger had on the minds of Janakimaiya and the children was a fine revelation of their nature. I was very happy to observe that all of them were upset. Let us pray that they may always remain what they are.

You must not leave that place till the doctors discharge you of their own accord.

We shall discuss here as many problems as we can. The rest during the Congress session and later. Immediately after the Congress session, I think I shall have to return to Wardha. I have no plans for anything new soon after the session. I will think only after returning here.

Things are going on well here.

I hope you write to Kamala. Just now Khurshedbehn is there. It will do even if you write to her.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2944

159. LETTER TO PARIKSHITLAL L. MAJMUDAR

October 5, 1934

BHAI PARIKSHITLAL,

I am taking up your letter of 14th September. The Rs. 6374-8-3 which I paid to you having been spent, Rs. 80-8-6 now remains. If I send that sum, may I take it that no further help will be required?

Cannot the hostel expenses be met from the yearly budget? What suggestion would you make regarding the [estimated] deficit of Rs. 800 at the end of the year? It would be desirable now to find all the expenditure from the same account. Most of what I receive is sent to Delhi. According to me, therefore, what Guja-

rat does not supply should come from Delhi. But that is not necessary with regard to [the needs of] Gujarat. We have a guarantee. It should be availed of judiciously. Meet Narahari and have the position clarified. We should become self-supporting in the Ashram as far as possible.

Have you collected rent from Ramdas and others who stayed there? Let me know what you got. The Ashram should not be made to bear even one pie by way of expenditure on account of anybody who is not a Harijan. This does not apply to you, Puratan and others who are there. But I suppose your expenditure is being met from the Gujarat Harijan Sevak Sangh. Indeed the Sangh should even pay something by way of rent. This is necessary for proper accounts. However, there can be difference of opinion about this.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4041

160. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

October 5, 1934

CHI. PREMA,

I have an impression that I have not replied to your last letter.

I was pleased to learn that you had fully understood my statement. Your work seems to be progressing very well. Don't widen its field. See that what you have started strikes deep roots. In this poor land, people sow grass seeds and live on what grows from them. Wheat and other grains are grass seeds. Since we don't have enough patience to plant fruit trees, the poor never get any fruit to eat. And the rich don't eat enough of them. They eat fruit only as dessert. Being similarly poor in the field of service we are content to sow and reap grass. If even a few of us save ourselves from committing this mistake, the fruit-trees which grow will give shade and generation after generation will eat the fruits. This will do for today.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10361. Also C.W. 6800. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

161. LETTER TO LILAVATI MUNSHI

October 5, 1934

CHI. LILAVATI,

This is my reply to your letter. I am writing it for Munshi, however.

He who follows many ideals worships several gods. How can he get peace of mind? Gods have been imagined as extremely jealous and quick to take offence. The devotee of one god has only one ideal in life. He wishes to have vision of only one god of truth. Such a man is ever contented and happy. If legal practice helps one to realize that ideal, one must practise as a lawyer despite censure by the whole world. If, on the other hand, practice of law stands in the way of one's progress towards the ideal, one must have nothing whatever to do with it. Legal practice, voluntary poverty, the Congress throne, people's criticism—these and many other such things are but so many forms of trust. The devotee of one god who accepts praise and censure with an equal mind and lives in comfort in Malabar Hill would be equally happy in an ill-lighted chawl in Worli too. This is how Munshi wishes to live. But it is a mental experiment. Why is he, then, afraid about it? What has happend to his penetrating intellect and to all his reading of the Shastras? If one's mind is pure one has the Ganga flowing by one's door-step, as they say. On the other hand, I have seen many a rogue who has been to Kashi and also bathed in the Ganga there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 7554. Courtesy: Lilavati Munshi

162. *LETTER TO RAMJI*

October 5, 1934

BHAI RAMJI,

I have read your letter carefully. I cannot think of any changes in the programme of studies.

The problem of khadi can be solved only by a perfect study of the science of khadi. It cannot be solved by yielding to the fancies of people. Khadi has an important role in times of famine. But the inhabitants of a famine-stricken area should content themselves with the lowest payment. If there is any other occupation through which they can earn more, we should not put the spinning-wheel or the *takli* before them.

The money received for the purpose of self-sufficiency in cloth cannot be given to victims of famine. The State or the rich ought to buy up the khadi produced in famine areas. Till the rich identify themselves with the poor, khadi can have no place as a means of relief in times of famine. Apart from the rich, the other classes cannot consume the khadi produced during famine. The poor would be wearing the khadi produced by themselves and the middle classes would buy their requirements in the market. There has to be, therefore, extra demand for khadi produced during famine.

For further explanation, read what I am going to write in *Harijan* when I get time.

Blessings from
BAPU

RAMJI
AMRELI

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

163. LETTER TO SARITA

Rentia Barash, October 5, 1934

CHI. SARITA,

I got your long letter. I liked it very much indeed. It reveals to me perfectly your purity of heart. You are acting as befits a true daughter, for such a daughter would not hide from her parents even her thoughts. She would frankly tell them what she thought and unburden her heart. This would enable the parents to think what they should do. You should, therefore, always write to me as you have done this time.

I would advise you to have patience. The result of work is not in our hands. What lies in our power is to do our duties. The fruit is in God's hands. We, therefore, do not know whether Sumitra will recover. We can arrange for her treatment as best as we can. It is our dharma to do so.

We are poor people. We should not, therefore, mind suffering what other poor people do. Please put up with a little waiting at the hospital. I do not know personally any eye-specialist there. Sardar would know somebody, and he himself has selected Sardesai. I am, therefore, getting this done through him. I am writing to Swami also and asking him to send me the doctor's report.

Sardesai is reputed to be good among the Indian doctors. There is a European doctor also who is considered to be good. But I don't feel inclined to send Sumitra to him. None of us know him. We should not, therefore, leave Sardesai. If, however, he finds himself helpless, we should certainly inquire from some other doctor.

If you don't like going to the sea-coast, why don't you take a walk on the terrace? That is what I always do. The terrace is fine.

What should I say about Nimu? How can I help her if she deceives me? If she would speak out frankly as you do, I would be able to do something. If she goes on saying "I am all right and don't worry", what can I do? I even told her yesterday that if she did not want to tell me she could tell Amtussalaam. She has no reason to feel worried. I have not asked her again to show me the accounts. But she should form the habit of keeping accounts. It will do her nothing but good. Even a millionaire would become bankrupt if he did not keep accounts.

If you are not satisfied with this explanation, write to me again.

Keep an account of what you have to spend there. If you desire, I would arrange that money should be sent to you from here right now.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

164. LETTER TO SURENDRA

October 5, 1934

CHI. SURENDRA,

For your satisfaction I will draw your monthly Rs. 15 from some other account. The matter doesn't seem to me an important one. It may be one's dharma to draw one's subsistence from the source from which one is entitled to do so—there may be greater humility in doing so. It would be but proper that a person like you should be dependent on Harijans even for his subsistence. If, however, you cannot make the service of Harijans the mission of your life and if it cannot give perfect satisfaction to your heart, it is right for you to receive your expenses from some other account.

Your letter to Kishorelalbhai reveals the state of your mind. I still see some confusion lurking secretly in your thoughts. You still feel it necessary to choose and decide among alternative courses. Such a state of mind can be harmful to spiritual progress. He who has offered up everything to Shri Krishna has made his final choice. What scope has he for further choice? Such a person can sing, along with a man of pleasure:

"Enjoy what today brings, for who has seen tomorrow?"

Show this letter to Nath[1] and discuss the matter with him.

Blessings from
BAPU

SURENDRA
SABARMATI

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

[1] Kedarnath Kulkarni, Kishorelal Mashruwala's guru

165. LETTER TO LILAVATI MEHTA

October 5, 1934

CHI. LILAVATI[1],

I have your letter. It seems to me that your life as a wife has proved to be unhappy. What else can you expect when no discrimination is made between moral and immoral? I had good hopes of Chhaganlal. I had taken him to England to be admitted to a school with fond hopes. He had excellent company there. It makes me sad that he is not proving a worthy successor to Doctor. He can be saved only if you try very hard.

Blessings from
BAPU

LILAVATI
RANGOON

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

166. LETTER TO KAKALBHAI KOTHARI

October 5, 1934

BHAI KAKALBHAI,

I have your letter. The mess about the Indian States proves the truth of the ancient saying : Man is his own friend or foe. No outside power can harm him. What is happening is all wrong. Each one of us is labouring under his own delusion. Shall we all pray, "O God! save us from our friends—we will offer thanks even if you save us only from ourselves?"

Blessings from
BAPU

KAKALBHAI
SONGADH

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

[1] Wife of Chhaganlal Mehta, eldest son of Dr. Pranjivan Mehta

167. *LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA*

October 5, 1934

CHI. BRAJKRISHNA,

Your letter. There is nothing wrong in carrying over balance left from the allowance of the previous month to the next. And at the end of the year if you find any saving you may ask your brothers to remit so much less. The point is that one who observes non-possession and accepts only a subsistence allowance cannot offer donations out of it. Suppose the brothers were to instruct a grocer to supply all your requirements, how could you make any gifts?

If you are not keeping well there and if the doctors permit, you can come and stay here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2426

168. *STATEMENT TO THE PRESS*

October 6, 1934

As it is not possible for me to send individual acknowledgements to the many senders of telegraphic and other messages on my 66th birthday from several parts of the world, I beg publicly to tender my thanks to all the senders of their good wishes.

The Bombay Chronicle, 7-10-1934

169. LETTER TO K. KRISHNAMOORTHY IYER

October 6, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I received your letter yesterday and now I have the cheque for Rs. 2,000 through Shri C. Rajagopalachari. Herewith receipt in accordance with your requirements. The cheque is being forwarded to Thakkar Bapa with instructions to send it or a fresh cheque for Rs. 2,000 to Shri C. Rajagopalachari with instructions to fulfil the conditions mentioned by you in your letter.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

SHRI K. KRISHNAMOORTHY IYER
106 THAMBU CHETTY STREET
GEORGE TOWN, MADRAS

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

170. LETTER TO S. D. RAJAGOPALAN

October 6, 1934

MY DEAR RAJAGOPALAN,

I am glad you are conducting experiments with your machine. The kind of cotton used should be noted. All the yarn turned out by the machine should be classified according to the strength, evenness and count. All the waste should be weighed. The names of the spinners, their ages and sex should be given, and against each spinner should be given the total hours of work per day and information as to the continuous time given by each spinner per day. If all these facts are given, they would certainly furnish valuable information. If any [part] of the machine breaks down or requires repair while at work, that also should be noted.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI S. D. RAJAGOPALAN
BANGALORE CITY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

171. LETTER TO B. SRIRANGASAYI

October 6, 1934

MY DEAR SRIRANGASAYI,

I have your letter. It is refreshing to know that the Socialist Party in Andhra appreciates all the amendments suggested by me. I say the Socialist Party because I take it that your letter is representative of the Party's opinion as you have signed it in your capacity as Secretary. But you know in what unmeasured terms the meeting in Banaras has condemned the amendments. Even when I first conceived spinning franchise as a token of the dignity of labour and its universal recognition, a friend had shown me a booklet containing the constitution of the Soviets and drawn my attention to the fact that in Russia labour franchise had a definite place. But here I do not know whether you represent the general body of Socialists. What about those who have passed the resolutions of condemnation?

You take exception to my wish that the rich should regard themselves as trustees for the whole of society rather than as owners of the wealth they might possess. Of course, it is an uphill task, but by no means impossible. Indeed I see definite signs of that idea spreading and being accepted. You suggest that the poor should be regarded as trustees for the rich. But you forget that it is implied in the proposition I have laid down. Because, have I not said that labour is as much capital as metal? Therefore, workers, instead of regarding themselves as enemies of the rich, or regarding the rich as their natural enemies, should hold their labour in trust for those who are in need of it. This they can do only when, instead of feeling so utterly helpless as they do, they realize their importance in human economy and shed their fear or distrust of the rich. Fear and distrust are twin sisters born of weakness. When labour realizes its strength it won't need to use any force against moneyed people. It will simply command their attention and respect.

The Hindu, 11-10-1934

172. LETTER TO DR. M. A. ANSARI

October 6, 1934

MY DEAR DR. SAHEB,

Bapu sends you his hearty greetings on your return home. The papers say you are coming here in a couple of days. Bapu says: 'You must come sooner if you can.' We hope you have benefited by the change and are feeling much stronger and fitter. The Khans you should have found here, but they have gone to Bengal and though they were expected to be back by the 7th, their stay is being prolonged and I wonder if they will be back earlier than the 16th.

You have stolen the hearts away of English friends like Agatha, Horace Alexander and others who seem to want you there almost permanently.

With salaams,

Yours affectionately,
MAHADEV

From the original: Ansari Papers: 20/ANS/APP-60-1. Courtesy: Jamia Millia Islamia Library

173. LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI

October 6, 1934

CHI. HARILAL,

I wrote a brief reply[1] to your last letter. I said in it that I would write more and here it is.

The nine implications of khadi work which you have explained are correct. We can add some more, but these nine are enough. Let us immediately start putting into practice whichever of them apply to you and me. It was for this reason that I suggested to you to learn khadi work. That means learning all the operations from the sowing of cotton in the fields to the manufacture of khadi and mastering the processes involved in the latter, as also learning the ways and means of selling the khadi produced. All these things should be studied scientifically.

I am making arrangements for sending the books.

[1] *Vide* p. 123.

I am glad to learn that you are tired of travelling. I shall prefer your staying at Rajkot instead of at Porbandar, as I think that you will be safer there. Narandas's being in Rajkot is one more reason why I should like you to stay there. Moreover, Bali, Manu[1], etc., are also there. In your awakened state, you can serve Bali, Phuli and Manu in a great many ways. But all this will have meaning only if you can find peace of mind in that way.

HARILAL
RAJKOT

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

174. *LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI*

October 6, 1934

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have your letter.

A letter for Harilal is enclosed. Read it and then pass it on to him. He wants to read some literature about the science of khadi. I am sure you have some there. Give it to him. There are books both in English and Gujarati.

Read the article on the *takli* in *Harijan*[2]. I hope you get those journals regularly now. Kanaiyo has settled down to his work very well. He takes little time to mix among strangers.

Radha seems to have become very thin. She will arrive there in a few days. I hope she will study there as much as she can.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I. Also C.W. 8420. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

[1] Addressee's daughter
[2] Dated October 5, 1934

175. LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI

October 6, 1934

BA,

It is not worth while at all for you to come to this year's Congress session. I shall be forced to go, though I do not at all like to go. There will be no free tickets this time. The lowest charge is Rs. 25. Who will pay that much? And how can we permit anybody to pay? I have been urging everybody not to go.

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

176. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

October 6, 1934

I got your letter. In trying to raise 100 to 116, we may have to lose some even out of 100.[1] God never obliges anyone who is excessively greedy. On the contrary, He punishes such a person.

I am more eager to leave the Congress than you are to drive me out of it. All that we have to do, therefore, is to find a way of doing it smoothly.

I do not know how big the crowd accompanying me will be, but I do like the rule that there will be no free tickets. I have always been opposing the practice of elders bringing their children along with them free of charge. I, therefore, like that rule. But it will be obeyed no better than the rule about khadi. You and I, however, shall have to observe it even if we are the only two doing so. If you push in Dilip[2] as a Press reporter and Taramati[3] as a volunteer, the responsibility will be yours. God will see that one wheel of your chariot gets stuck into the ground

[1] The addressee had wished Gandhiji a life of 116 years like Mahidasa of the *Chhandogya Upanishad*.

[2] Addressee's son

[3] Addressee's wife

completely. If I had my way, I would bring along only Mahadev, Pyarelal, Devraj and Kanu. But I shall not be able to have my way. Prithuraj is bound to tell me that a whole year's labour ought to be rewarded. But it is impossible to say what arrangement will be made about the girls. Kaka will be in the party, of course. But none of them will be permitted to enter the pandal. There you will find only persons sporting ruddy mouths and chewing betel-leaves smeared with lime and catechu and folded in silver foil.

MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI
BOMBAY

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

177. *LETTER TO NANABHAI I. MASHRUWALA*

October 6, 1934

CHI. NANABHAI[1],

I have your postcard. I got almost all the news about you through Kishorelal. God is helping your cart along. Do not in the least feel unhappy that you are no longer able to do much service with your own body. Your good wishes also are a form of service. By itself, the body is inert matter. As long as your good wishes remain, you are working through numerous other bodies. Tara[2] there, Sushila in Natal and Kishorelal and Gomati here—aren't all these but other selves of you? Suppose you wished to stop them from working?

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

178. *LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI*

October 6, 1934

CHI. RAMDAS,

I got your postcard. If you can live only on milk and curds and vegetables and fruit, your body is bound to improve. In any case you must not worry. I have written to you at length regard-

[1] Sushila Gandhi's father

[2] Addressee's daughter

ing cod-liver oil. If you could not follow it, ask me again. Do what you like. When one's body is at stake, even one's parents cannot lay down one's dharma. Nobody can be forced to be good. Dharma is a matter of the heart. One should not copy anybody else in following it. You may, therefore, do without the least hesitation whatever seems good to you.

Harilal seems to be going on well just now. He has gone to Rajkot. I get two or three letters from him every week.

Sharma has not returned yet. I had told him to stay on as long as he thought necessary.

Nimu has just now handed me your letter. May your prayers on my birthday be fulfilled. I know that I have never withheld my soul from you brothers. I strove to remain pure for your sakes even when I did not do that for anybody else. It was later that I realized that purity was something to be cultivated for its own sake. Even when I had realized that, however, the knowledge was not sufficient to keep me pure. But the sense of my dharma to you and to Ba sustained me in my striving. Your formal education, however, remained deficient. That was unavoidable. I attached little importance to such education in the new experiments I had embarked upon. My attitude remains the same today. You have not lost much through that deficiency. But in the measure that you feel discontented on that account, I also feel unhappy. If you and your brothers did not feel the deficiency, I would count myself blessed as a father.

RAMDAS GANDHI
AHMEDABAD

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

179. LETTER TO SITARAM

October 6, 1934

BHAI SITARAM,

For my part I love prayers but nowadays Congressmen do not seem to have any faith in prayer and do not connect any such thing with politics. As a matter of fact everyone knows of Kamala's illness and those who have faith do offer regular prayers for her. I think this is all the good we can do to her.

ALLAHABAD

[From Hindi]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

180. WOMEN AND VARNA[1]

An esteemed friend writes:[2]

> From your recent writing[3] on varna in *Harijan* it seems that the principle of varna adumbrated by you is intended to apply only to men. What, then, about women? What would determine a woman's varna? Perhaps you will answer that before marriage a woman would take her varna from her father; after marriage from her husband. Should one understand that you support Manu's notorious dictum that there can be no independence for woman at any stage of her life, that before marriage she must remain under the tutelage of her parents, after marriage under that of her husband and, in the event of her widowhood, under that of her children? . . . It is . . . the commonest thing nowadays to find a woman serving as a schoolmistress, while her husband is doing business as a money-lender. To what varna would the woman under these circumstances belong? . . . To what varna between these would their children belong? . . .

In my opinion, the question raised is irrelevant in the circumstances prevailing today. As I have pointed out in the writing referred to, owing to the confusion of the varnas, today there are in reality no varnas, the varna principle has ceased to operate. The present state of Hindu society may be described as that of anarchy; the four varnas today exist in name only. If we must talk in terms of varna, there is only one varna today for all, whether men or women; we are all Shudras.

In the resuscitated varnadharma, as I conceive it, a girl before her marriage will belong to the varna of her father, just like her brother. Inter-marriages between different varnas will be rare. A girl will, therefore, retain her varna unimpaired even after her marriage. But should the husband belong to a different varna, then, on marriage, she would naturally adopt his varna and relinquish that of her parents. Nor need such a change of varna be understood to imply a slur against anybody or touch anybody's susceptibilities since the institution of varna in the age of resuscitation would imply absolute social equality of all the four varnas.

[1] The Gujarati original appeared in *Harijanbandhu*, 7-10-1934.

[2] Only extracts are reproduced here.

[3] *Vide* "Introduction to *Varnavyavastha*", pp. 61-7.

I do not envisage the wife, as a rule, following an avocation independently of her husband. The care of the children and the upkeep of the household are quite enough to fully engage all her energy. In a well-ordered society the additional burden of maintaining the family ought not to fall on her. The man should look to the maintenance of the family, the woman to household management; the two thus supplementing and complementing each other's labours.

Nor do I see in this any invasion of woman's rights or suppression of her freedom. The saying attributed to Manu that "For woman there can be no freedom" is not to me sacrosanct. It only shows that probably, at the time when it was promulgated, women were kept in a state of subjection. The epithets used in our literature to describe a wife are *ardhangana*, "the better half", and *sahadharmini*, "the help-mate". The husband addressing the wife as *devi* or "goddess" does not show any disparagement. But, unfortunately, a time came when the woman was divested of many of her rights and privileges and was reduced to a status of inferiority. But there could be no question of depreciation of her varna. For, varna does not connote a set of rights or privileges; it prescribes duties or obligations only. And no one can divest us of our duty, unless we ourselves choose to shirk it. The woman who knows and fulfils her duty realizes her dignified status. She is the queen, not the slave, of the household over which she presides.

I need hardly say after this that, if the position set forth by me with regard to the role of the woman in society is accepted, the question of the varna of the children will cease to present any problem, as there will be no more any discrepancy as between the varnas of the husband and the wife.

Harijan, 12-10-1934

181. LETTER TO DUNCAN GREENLEES

October 7, 1934

MY DEAR DUNCAN,

I got your book today with your little note. I shall take an early opportunity of reading the book. I shall be interested to know how it sells.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

182. LETTER TO PRAFULLA CHANDRA GHOSH

October 7, 1934

MY DEAR PRAFULLA,

I have your letter. Khan Saheb is all that you describe him to be. You are keeping the Brothers beyond their time. They were to have returned here by the 8th. They have to reach Bombay without fail on the 19th, and they expect to [visit][1] two places on their way back to Wardha. The result would be that they would be with me only for two days after that. I do not know that you are wise in making Khan Saheb work in that debilitating atmosphere when he himself is so much run down. If it is at all possible to cut down the tour, please do so. We must not run a willing horse to death.

SHRI PRAFULLA GHOSH
79/13 B LOWER CIRCULAR ROAD
CALCUTTA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

183. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

October 7, 1934

MY DEAR THAKKAR BAPA,

Herewith [a] cheque for Rs. 2,000 and original letters from the donor[2] and another from Rajaji. I suggest your making an entry in your books and forwarding the cheque itself to Rajaji with instructions to utilize it in accordance with the suggestions contained in his letter.

Encl. 1 cheque for Rs. 2,000 and 2 letters

SHRI A. V. THAKKAR, DELHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] This is illegible in the source.
[2] *Vide* "Letter to K. Krishnamoorthy Iyer", p. 139.

184. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

October 7, 1934

I have your letter enclosing a letter from Shri Krishnamoorthy Iyer and [a] cheque for Rs. 2,000. I am sending him a receipt directly, and sending the cheque to Thakkar Bapa with instructions to send it to you to dispose of it in accordance with the suggestion contained in your letter. That seems to be the best way of giving full effect to the intention of the donor.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

185. LETTER TO F. MARY BARR

October 7, 1934

CHI. MARY,

The bit of the first fruits of children's spinning is really very good. The khadi is stout and very serviceable.

I hope you are reading the *Harijan* carefully, for there is quite a variety in its columns just now.

Jamnalalji is expected here on the 13th instant. The doctors have said that they would have finished with him on the 12th. There is just a little healing left.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 6030. Also C.W. 3359. Courtesy: F. Mary Barr

186. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

October 7, 1934

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I will be on my guard if Maharaj comes.

If you let me go on feeling suffocated, I shall have to fight.

I am getting the resolutions ready for you. The one about

1000[1] is taxing all my resources. I go on revising it again and again.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 139

187. LETTER TO VIDYA A. HINGORANI

October 7, 1934

CHI. VIDYA,

At present I am so busy that I am unable to write [even] those letters that ought to be written. I have got your letter. It is good that Anand is going in for the operation. Your decision to stay on is also right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Hindi: Courtesy: National Archives of India and Anand T. Hingorani

188. LETTER TO RHYS JONES

October 8, 1934

MY DEAR RHYS,

I was delighted to have your letter and to learn that you were keeping first class. I hope that that state will continue till the day of your departure, and that you will reach home hale and hearty.

Yes, it was well that Charlie was able to get away on the 6th. He was going through a terrific strain. You will please continue to write to me from time to time.

The Khan Brothers have not yet arrived. They seem to be doing very well in Bengal.

Love from us all.

BAPU

RHYS JONES
C. M. S. HOUSE
PROCTOR ROAD, GIRGAUM, BOMBAY 4

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] The one proposing to reduce the strength of the A. I. C. C. to 1000

189. LETTER TO B. J. DEORUKHKER[1]

October 8, 1934

MY DEAR DEORUKHKER,

So far as the modification of the communal decision is concerned, the Harijan part of it cannot be modified except with the unanimous consent of all the parties concerned, and I shall be certainly no party to any modification which worsens the position of Harijans or which has not their consent. So far as the elections are concerned, I am quite clear that it would be detrimental to the Harijan cause to involve the Harijans in any shape or form in the fight with the Government in which the Congress is engaged. There are many other and more tangible ways open to caste Hindus to show their sympathy, and more than sympathy, to the Harijans.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI B. J. DEORUKHKER
KRISHNA BUILDING NO. 4
POIBAWADI, PAREL, BOMBAY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

190. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

October 8, 1934

DEAR THAKKAR BAPA,

I enclose herewith two letters about Gajbhiye. You seem to know his case. If so, please enlighten me on the matter. In reply to his first letter I asked him to define his requirements before forwarding the correspondence to you. The postcard is the result.

Yours,
BAPU

Encl. 2

[1] The addressee, a nationalist Harijan leader of Bombay, had in a letter raised doubts about the permanency of the Poona Pact, in view of the agitation for its modification by a section of Hindus particularly of Bengal and the Punjab. He had also requested Gandhiji to reconsider his views on the question of putting up Harijan candidates to contest the Assembly elections.

[PS.][1]

I have just received your letter. Fix the meeting as early as possible in November. After the Congress session my programme will be uncertain. I will return to Wardha immediately after the session. Show me the accounts then. I am of the view that the rich among the workers should pay off the sum connected with Satcowriebabu. About excusing the members, consult Ghanshyamdas. However gently, they must be informed. I certainly believe that if it is our duty to ask Surajbehn to vacate, there is no room for mercy in performing it.

I wish to return to Wardha on November 1 at the latest. But it will be as Rama wills.

Tour Kathiawar after the meeting here.

Parikshitlal's Rs. 31 were sent by Radhakisan ten days ago. We are inquiring why he did not receive the sum.

BAPU

[PPS.]

I got your letter. We shall send the cheque.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1146

191. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

October 8, 1934

BHAISHRI VALLABHBHAI,

I read your letters to Mahadev. If you can come with Dr. Ansari, do come.

I have received numerous wires regarding Ishwar Sharan[2]. I didn't send the others to you, but I am sending Baba Raghavdas's with this.

Ishwar Sharan is opposed by Krishnakant[3]. Aney has suggested that the latter may be replaced by Chintamani[4] and Ishwar Sharan should be asked to withdraw, and that Bhagwandas may not be opposed. This seems to me worth doing if it can be managed. In any case, Ishwar Sharan should withdraw in favour of

[1] The postscript is in Gujarati.

[2] Munshi Ishwar Sharan, a Harijan worker of Allahabad

[3] Krishnakant Malaviya

[4] C. Y. Chintamani, Editor, *The Leader*

Chintamani. Opposition to Bhagwandas will create much bitterness. I have sent you a wire[1] regarding this.

Next about Abhyankar. After I had sent that wire, I received the accompanying letter from Bapuji. I, therefore, need not take your time trying to explain the reasoning behind that wire.

I had long wires from Nariman and Mathuradas pleading against postponement of the Congress. The expenditure was unnecessary. I am not at all keen on postponement. I merely acted as a postman. Surely, neither you nor I can be a party to anything that might harm the Congress or the Parliamentary Board. And, moreover, I can't judge about these things from my retreat here.

The Khan Brothers have got stuck in Bengal. It has become extremely difficult now to persuade them to go to Bombay on the 19th. What can we do? I have, of course, written[2].

I am very much afraid that you might fall ill. However, I remember the case of William, the Prince of Orange. As long as God wanted him to live and serve, he remained unharmed even in the midst of a shower of bullets.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 139-40

192. LETTER TO M.

October 9, 1934

MY DEAR M.,

I have your letter. Your pride is still speaking in you. You want to repeat the very thing that undid you! Can pride take a man deeper? No, you must not [come] back *here* to take your penance. You will be received with open arms when the sense of sin is self-evident. Your letter is evidence of the contrary. You have not even the honesty to say to those concerned what you have actually done, if only to guide them in future. You must come down [your] pedestal before you can realize the enormity of the treble sin. Remember a fellow sinner is speaking to you. Only I have the sense of sin and I fly from it. You want to come to it.

Love.

BAPU

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

[1] This is not available.
[2] *Vide* "Letter to Prafulla Chandra Ghosh", p. 148.

193. LETTER TO DR. D. S. SARDESAI

October 9, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

Swami Anand has sent me your report upon my grand-daughter's bad eyes. I thank you for all the attention you are giving to the little child.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

DR. D. S. SARDESAI, L.R.C.P & S.
SANDHURST RD.
GIRGAON, BOMBAY

From a photostat: G.N. 8827

194. LETTER TO MITHUBEHN PETIT

October 9, 1934

CHI. MITHUBEHN,

I see that you have been enlarging your field of service and that you will have the happiness now of naming your weaving school Sevashram. May your labour and that of your men and women helpers bear fruit.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Improve your health and see that it is perfectly all right.

SMT. MITHUBEHN PETIT
PARK HOUSE
COLABA, BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2699

195. LETTER TO KANTI GANDHI

October [*9*],[1] *1934*

CHI. KANTI,

I got your long letter. Nobody else will read it. I understand your feeling. I have arranged the money for you from Ramachandran. My relations with him are such that I need not hesitate about this and this is quite the right thing to do for you as well as for me. When he is there it does not look nice to send money direct from here. I shall certainly return it to him so you may draw the money without hesitation. If you do not find it enough, write to me. It is very good that you keep account of each and every pie. I understand the state of your mind which you so vividly describe. Don't force yourself to do anything. Place your foot only where you can plant it firmly knowing all that is happening around you. It has been my experience throughout that nothing that is done in an unnatural manner endures, but that instead there is only increase in hypocrisy. That is why I am fighting to get out of the Congress. I shall be satisfied if only one quality at any rate endures among you all. Let no one give up worship of truth. He who clings to truth will in time come to see his errors. He will correct them and go ahead.

Nowadays I receive letters from Harilal regularly. I have been trying to help him. He has come to Rajkot. He had asked for your address which I have sent to him. If you wish to read his recent letters to me, I shall send them to you. Contrary to my practice nowadays I am preserving his letters. If the present improvement does not prove temporary it would really be a great thing.

Your decision to do [regular] spinning is no doubt a good one. The new method with the *takli* is very good. 400 rounds can be spun per hour by adopting this method. A speed of 200 rounds per hour is common with this method; do try it. You must have read the article on the subject. That you should ask for slivers from here is contrary to logic. It is like a shave costing more than a head. You ought to do your own carding. All the tools are available in Nagercoil. Perhaps you might get them at your

[1] From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary

place too. Ramachandran must know because he was connected with khadi work. No doubt good quality cotton is available there. The best cotton is grown in Tinnevelly and it is not far from Nagercoil.

You might have started taking ghee and milk. Let me know what effect it has on you. Let me know also how you find the food and climate of the place.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Ramdas is better now. But he is still in the hospital.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Chhaganlal Gandhi Papers. Courtesy: Sabarmati Sangrahalaya

196. *LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA*

October 9, 1934

CHI. BRAJKRISHNA,

Your letter.

It would be best for you to come over here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2427

197. MESSAGE TO MADRAS ELECTORS[1]

[Before *October 10, 1934*]

[I] would like electors to consider not persons but the principles which the institutions they represent embody. If Congress had deserved well of the country, they will not hesitate to choose the Congress representative.

The Hindu, 10-10-1934

198. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

October 10, 1934

DEAR SATISBABU,

I have your letter. As to the Ashram at Delhi, the fact that there is the other Central one should not be overemphasized. There should be an ashram or institution at the headquarters, and the idea is that the office should be taken there, with accommodation for the whole of the staff, and provision for a technical institute. If the provinces can raise sufficient money for themselves, each of them can certainly have such training centres. Karachi has almost a model institute where, under first class expert guidance, all kinds of articles are manufactured from leather. Sewing is also done there, and the ground is exceedingly well kept. The whole thing is due to the enterprise of Mohatta Bros. Now it has become so popular that even non-Harijans are applying for admission. Therefore, the idea of the Delhi institute is not in conflict with yours, but on the contrary it is in support of yours—only Delhi can't find the funds for other centres. Bangalore is also developing such things. Kathiawar has three. But they were there prior to the establishment of the Harijan Board, and they have now come under the influence of the Central Board. The establishment of an institute at Delhi was an idea conceived by Ghanshyamdas before Sabarmati was given [over]. It is, and will remain, an all-India concern. Whether it will be so in fact depends largely upon what the management is able to make of it. I do not sup-

[1] The message was sent through S. Satyamurthi.

pose we shall get in the near future over 100 acres of land and buildings worth over two lakhs. In acreage the Delhi plot is nothing, but the situation is very good. And Ghanshyamdas wants to develop the scheme after his own fashion, and to spend a lot of his substance on it.

I do hope that my proposal[1] to Devibabu and Bhagirathji will be accepted and that we shall not have to lose the money Satcowriebabu has taken away. It is an unfortunate incident which should be redressed so far as it is possible.

The paragraph you quote from McCarrison is very interesting. McCarrison I have found to be a reliable writer, but he is somewhat hasty in generalizing. I have had considerable correspondence with him.

Are you not sweeping in your statement that starch is identified with sugar as a food? Now sugar can be given with impunity to babies. I have never heard that starch can be given to them with equal impunity. Then, starch can never be taken without cooking. Sugar requires no cooking. And even if rice is cooked, surely you do not claim the same value for rice as you would for raisins from the point of view of harmlessness.

I am testing just now the effect of unboiled milk, fresh from the udder. I have heard so much in praise of unboiled milk that I want to try its effect myself. The only difficulty is that you can't take all the milk that you want to at one meal. You have to divide it, and you can't get the goats or the cows, as the case may be, to yield the milk whenever you want to milk them. The question then is: Does unboiled milk retain its full quality throughout the day if you stored it in ice or kept in a corked bottle with a wet towel wrapped round it? I have tried it myself. The milk retains the full flavour. Whether it retains the full quality, I have no knowledge. If you can throw light upon it, please do.

I shall watch the development of your researches about the full use of all the parts of carcasses.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: G.N. 1626a

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Devibabu", p. 119.

199. LETTER TO MOHANLAL SAXENA

October 11, 1934

MY DEAR MOHANLAL,

I have your telegram. I have now heard from Anand Bhawan about the fruit for Kamala.

You ask me to send my autograph message. It is not quite clear to me to whom to send the autograph message and why. You don't suggest that Babu Bhagawandas wants an autograph, or any other message from me for being elected in his own home. If his name cannot carry the day, I am sure that my pen can do very little.

SHRI MOHANLAL SAXENA
LUCKNOW

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

200. LETTER TO HARI SINGH GAUR

October 11, 1934

DEAR SIR HARI SINGH GOUR,

I have your letter. Whatever my personal opinion may be, so long as I remain a member of the Congress I may not go against the definite policy and programme of the Congress. Therefore, you must excuse me for my utter inability to give you my personal support in your candidature.

Thank you for your inquiry about my health. It is quite good.

Yours sincerely,

SIR HARI SINGH GAUR
NAGPUR

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

201. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

Not revised *October 11, 1934*

DEAR THAKKAR BAPA,

I am sending your letter to Sastri for his opinion. If it is at all possible I would certainly like to take the burden of a part of his allowance from the Central Board. I have so completely relied upon Sastri that I have not even looked upon the financial position. I know that it is wrong on my part not to do so. But sheer force of circumstances has prevented my doing many things that I would have loved to do. Now I think that you should also formally demand the accounts in order that you can satisfy yourself as to whether the assistance given by the Board is necessary or not. You have every right to do so.

BAPU

Encl. 2

From a photostat: G.N. 1147

202. LETTER TO S. SRINIVASA IYENGAR

October 11, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I prize your letter. All these days I have pined to write to you about Ambujam[1]. But a delicate sense of consideration for you has restrained me. Your letter gives me an opening and much relief.

You know my affection towards Ambujam. If it is not a presumption I may say I have felt towards her even as you have. It has been a rare privilege of my life to be able to occupy a place of confidence in several families. What little influence I have had over Ambujam has been exerted to persuade her to do nothing that could displease either of you. I think she has listened to my advice.

I look forward to reviving old sweet memories when we meet.

[1] Addressee's daughter, S. Ambujammal

With kind regards to both of you.

S. SRINIVASA IYENGAR
MADRAS

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

203. LETTER TO SECRETARY, POONA SARVAJANIK SABHA

October 11, 1934

THE SECRETARY
THE POONA SARVAJANIK SABHA
SHUKRAWAR PETH

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter enclosing resolution of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha. I am treasuring all the criticism that comes under my notice, and I give you my assurance that I shall take no step without giving the utmost consideration to all this criticism.

Yours sincerely,

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

204. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

October 11, 1934

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have your letter. I had received Harilal's before I got yours, that is, yesterday. He says in it that you have lost some money and that you may even have to draw something [from the Ashram funds] to meet your monthly expenses. I shall not be shocked if this is true. I have often sung, "It is a blessing indeed that the snare was destroyed, for I have seen Shri Gopal with little effort." If you find it necessary to draw any money for your expenses, by all means do so.

More in my next letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I. Also C.W. 8421. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

205. LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI

October 11, 1934

CHI. HARILAL,

I liked your letter very much. I hope the changes in you will endure. You should have patience. Since you have come to trust me, there will be no difficulty.

We shall think before asking Nanalalbhai for help.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

206. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

October 11, 1934

CHI. BRAJKRISHNA,

I got your postcard. I have written to you to come over. It would be good if you come after visiting Dr. Ansari. I shall leave on the 19th instant and shall return earliest by 1st November. There is no harm in your arriving during my absence. Prabhavati will be here. You need not at all come in the capacity of a delegate.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA
GANGA ASHRAM
RISHIKESH, *via* HARDWAR, U. P.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2428

207. LETTER TO KRISHNAKANT MALAVIYA

October 11, 1934

BHAI KRISHNAKANT,

I got your letter just now. Sardar is sitting with me. I read it out to him. We both wonder how Babuji[1] and others told you I was displeased. In Banaras[2] many things came to my notice but I had formed no firm opinion. I had hardly any time. I do not recollect having expressed to anyone any opinion about you or anyone else. And Sardar of course knew nothing.

Here again Sardar disclaims having said anything to anyone. It is true, however, that some friends have said a few things. And it is also true that neither of us is happy about your decision to enter the Assembly. I am returning Jawaharlal's letter.

M. K. GANDHI

[From Hindi]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

208. A GREAT HARIJAN SEVAK GONE[3]

Rajasaheb Kalakanker, whose untimely death was announced week before last, was a great Harijan *sevak*. He was ailing for nearly a year. I could hardly recognize him when I saw him last in Calcutta, where he was undergoing treatment. He was a most liberal-minded zamindar of U. P. It can be truly said of him that he lived for his ryots to the best of his ability. His tastes were simple. He mixed freely with people. His love for Harijans was no less than for others. He endeavoured by his open example to have caste Hindus of his zamindari abolish untouchability and let Harijans enjoy the same rights as they themselves enjoyed. All schools, wells, temples under his own direct ment were freely thrown open to Harijans. Let us hope that the bereaved Ranisaheba and other members of Kalakanker's family will carry out the noble traditions bequeathed by him and thus perpetuate the Rajasaheb's memory.

Harijan, 12-10-1934

[1] Dr. Bhagwandas

[2] Gandhiji was in Banaras from July 27 to August 2.

[3] This appeared under "Notes".

209. WHOSE VICTORY?

Harijan servants have need to exercise the greatest forbearance at this time of their trial. The Temple-entry Bill is gone. The sanatanists are jubilant. We must not mind their joy. Only yesterday we were what they are today. We may not hate them. We must love them. Let the reformers treasure the following lines a sister sends me from Æ.'s[1] *Interpreters*, which she venerates almost as a devout Christian his Bible. These are the beautiful lines:

> Love and hate have a magical transforming power. They are the great soul-changers. We grow through their exercise into the likeness of what we contemplate. By intensity of hatred, nations create in themselves the character they imagine in their enemies. Hence it comes that all passionate conflicts result in an interchange of characteristics. We might say, with truth, that those who hate open a door by which their enemies enter and make their own the secret place of the heart.

Love is the only thing that can transform sanatanists. Let us realize that they are what they are, in spite of themselves. We have no right to judge them or become impatient with them. Surely, it is enough if we are true to ourselves, that is, if we act up to our belief and render full twenty shillings in the pound to the Harijans.

Again, let us realize that in their victory lies their defeat; in our humiliation lies our victory. Sanatanists can no longer plead the Temple-entry Bill in defence of their opposition to the entry of Harijans to our temples by our common consent. Reformers can now prosecute the temple-entry question with re-doubled zeal.

The reformers would sin, if they felt that the burial of the Bill meant the burial of the temple-entry movement. It is not so. Wherever we can, without bitterness, have temples opened by the consent of sanatanists, we must do so. It is possible that those who were holding themselves aloof from the temple-entry movement, on account of the Temple-entry Bill being prosecuted, will, now that it is out of the way, join the movement to have them opened without the aid of the law. For, be it remembered that the Bill

[1] George William Russel (1867-1935), Irish poet, philosopher and painter. *The Interpreters* (1920) is a symposium in the Platonic fashion.

is not dead, it is only suspended. Legislation has to come, if sanatanists do not heartily co-operate with the reformers in having temples opened to Harijans precisely on the same terms as to caste Hindus.

Harijan, 12-10-1934

210. INSTRUCTIVE FIGURES

The Maharashtra branch of the A. I. S. A., whose head office is situated in Wardha, has at my request furnished me with some most instructive figures about the incidence of the distribution of every rupee spent on khadi among the various persons engaged in the manufacture and distribution of khadi. The following are the figures for white khadi of 10 to 14 counts of yarn:

	Rs.	A.	P.
Farmer for cotton	0	4	6
Ginning	0	0	6
Carding	0	1	0
Spinning	0	3	6
Weaving	0	4	0
Freight	0	0	8
Bleaching	0	0	8
Management	0	1	2
	1	0	0

This khadi constitutes roughly 50 per cent of the stock. Therefore, on that quantity, the management gets only one anna two pies (0-1-2) in the rupee worth of khadi and workers up to the weaver Rs. 0-13-6 in the rupee. It is satisfactory to note that the farmer, the spinner and the weaver get the largest portion among themselves. In the higher counts, the farmer gets much less and the spinner tops the list. But the incidental charges increase. They go as high as 25 per cent. Then, again, on fancy articles there may be cent per cent increase on khadi. Indeed, in the cost of khadi in a fancy kerchief costing one rupee, the portion going to *Daridranarayana* may be only half an anna or less. For socks or stockings made of hand-spun yarn on tiny hand machines, the cost of yarn would be trifling. The cost of an Andhra sari, as it may come from Andhra, may be Rs. 25, and it may be sold after fancy work done on it at Rs. 150. The

moral is obvious: the simpler the khadi, the larger the amount that goes into the pockets of the poorest workers. The fancy work no doubt makes khadi popular in homes which could not otherwise look at it. I may add also that there are some popular varieties of saris and dhotis manufactured for poor people. On these no management charges are at all added. And there is no such thing as net profit in any of the numerous stores managed by the A. I. S. A. The management charges are added in order to make khadi self-supporting. This has not yet happened. The Committee of the A. I. S. A. is constantly taxing itself so as to reduce prices and to make the management so efficient as to bring down the expenses to a minimum.

Harijan, 12-10-1934

211. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

Not revised *October 12, 1934*

CHI. MIRA,

I have your letter. But as you were going to America I knew that it was no use my writing to you, and I hardly think that you expected anything from me or any of us in America. I suppose I had better not say anything now about the scolding that you read in one of my letters. I had not intended to scold you; I did intend to warn you. But I suppose it is now a forgotten thing. Moreover you are a happy family again. You will be happier for the blowing up, and I see that Agatha has been writing nicely about you all along in her correspondence to the Indian newspapers. I am looking forward to a recital of your experiences in America. It was a good thought on your part to have written to Dr. Holmes and to have gone to America. It was an experience you certainly needed.

I understand your scheme about things in England. We must discuss that when we meet. Therefore I do not propose to give any opinion just now.

Things are shaping themselves here. I do not know what is going to happen. My mind is certainly set on going out of the Congress. I feel quite sure that it will do good to the Congress and to me. I shall better influence the Congress by being outside. I shall cease to be the weight that I am just now, and yet I shall be passing my views on to the Congress whenever occasion demands it. I must not give my time to writing about these

things. These have to be attended to by Mahadev and Pyarelal. Every minute just now counts.

Love.

BAPU

SHRIMATI MIRABEHN
LONDON

From the original: C.W. 6300. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9766

212. LETTER TO TITUS

October 12, 1934

MY DEAR TITUS,

I have your long letter. I am glad you have written at length. I am in correspondence with Narandas and others regarding the dairy. I would like to study the figures showing how the loss was incurred. Your asking me to make arrangements for you in anticipation of your severing the connection with the dairy is altogether premature. The dairy is not to be given up light-heartedly, and if it has got to be given up, surely there must be something wrong with the management. Therefore, if you have confidence in yourself, you should make it impossible to give up the dairy. Your suggestions about the re-arrangement are worthy of consideration. I must discuss these suggestions with Narandas and Shankerlal, possibly Narahari also. I shall then be better able to form a decisive judgment. I agree with you that you should separate the useless cattle from the useful ones. As soon as I have a definite scheme, I shall approach the pinjrapole people. Indeed Narandas can do so himself, and I may come on the scene later if it becomes at all necessary. The most serious news, however, that I have about the dairy is a letter from Surendraji saying that the cattle are looking most miserable, some of them are skin and bone. It seems to me to be unbelievable. I would like you, therefore, to set my mind at rest on this point, and discuss with Surendraji and know from him the full meaning of his statement.

I am glad that your wife has become acclimatized, and that she is of great assistance to you in your work.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

213. LETTER TO EFY ARISTARCHI

October 12, 1934

You do continue to send me your gifts. Now I have your own precious Cross, and the book written with so much care and your own translation. I could not restrain myself from peeping into the book. I wish I had the time to go through every line of it. It remains in front of me in the little desk which Jamnalalji has provided for me.

I have not yet seen Manu[1] or heard from him again. But I expect a letter from him every day.

I must not give much time to love-letters just now. The time is taken up in connection with the developing situations here and holding discussions.

PRINCESS EFY ARISTARCHI
GERMANY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

214. LETTER TO PRAFULLA CHANDRA GHOSH

October 13, 1934

MY DEAR PRAFULLA,

I have read your long letter to Mahadev. In the circumstances narrated by you, of course you were quite right in doing what you did, and arranging the tour for Khan Brothers.[2] It is also well that the balance of the tour has been cancelled, and that they will be with me about the 16th. Then too, there will be only two days left. They must reach Bombay on the 19th.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] Manshankar J. Trivedi
[2] *Vide* p. 148.

215. LETTER TO KUAR SINGH

October 13, 1934

DEAR FRIENDS,

Please tell the Indians in Trinidad that the Motherland expects them to show in that distant foreign land the best of Indian culture. I would like them to send some boys and girls with sufficient scholarships to carry on their studies in India so as to fit them for better service on their return. This means that the boys and girls, who are selected, should have good character to their credit, and have the spirit of service in them.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI KUAR SINGH AND ANOTHER
TRINIDAD (W. INDIES)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

216. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

October 14, 1934

DEAR THAKKAR BAPA,

If you can without much searching give me the number of Harijan members of the various Harijan Boards, provincial and subordinate, I would like to have it.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1148

217. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

October 14, 1934

DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter. You were quite right in writing to me as you have done. It may be most difficult to give two hours to the artist friend. But I shall see what is possible. I look forward to your sending me a copy of the photograph of Charlie Andrews's head.

The rumour you have heard is correct. I am trying to retire from the Congress. But that does not mean a life of quiet for me. Indeed I do not know what is to happen to me after the Congress session is over. But I should love to undertake the mission you would like me to. I do not know what is expected of such a mission. As you know, I took up, among several other things, woman's cause also when I began public life. And my love for that service has persisted throughout all these 45 years. I would like you to sketch for me what you would have me do, and if I feel up to it and have the opportunity, you may depend upon my taking up the mission.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR
SIMLA

From the original : C.W. 3512. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6321

218. LETTER TO CHANCHALDAS

October 14, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

You sent me a telegram about the murder of Maharaj Nathuram. Though it had cut me to the quick, I have not contemplated any fast. Nevertheless I was looking forward to the full details promised in your telegram. The telegram is dated the 7th instant. I have not heard from you as yet.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI CHANCHALDAS
PRESIDENT, ARYA SAMAJ
HYDERABAD (SIND)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

219. LETTER TO J. N. SAHNI

October 14, 1934

MY DEAR SAHNI[1],

If you can draw blood out of stone, you can draw messages out of me. As for encouragement for yourself, if my life provides none to your liking, then nothing that comes through the pen will be of any use.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI SAHNI
"NATIONAL CALL"
DELHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] Editor, *National Call*

220. LETTER TO S. SUBBA RAO

October 14, 1934

MY DEAR SUBBA RAO,

I have your letter. I very much fear that you will have to find out something for yourself there. Surely this should not be difficult in the surroundings where you are comparatively better known.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI S. SUBBA RAO
MARUTERU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

221. LETTER TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM

October 14, 1934

DEAR JAIRAMDAS,

I hope everything is fixed up for Anand.[1]

If you know anything about the Karachi murder[2], I should like you to write to me.

BAPU

SHRI JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM
C/o CONGRESS HOUSE
WARDEN ROAD, BOMBAY

From a microfilm. Courtesy: National Archives of India and Anand T. Hingorani

[1] *Vide* Vol. LVIII, pp. 347-8 and 398.
[2] Of Maharaj Nathuram

222. LETTER TO ESTHER MENON

October 14, 1934

I have your two letters before me. You are having a very bad time. But I hope that Nan[1] is getting better. I can understand her longing for Denmark. This is surely a difficult task.

It is often a dilemma as to which is the best course to adopt. It is a constant spiritual struggle in which, with the godfearing, right triumphs over wrong.

When Maria[2] comes there, give her my love.

Ramdas is better. He is still in a hospital in Ahmedabad. Ba is with him.

MRS. ESTHER MENON
VISION BUNGALOW, TANJORE

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

223. LETTER TO P. KODANDARAMIAH

October 14, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I had your letter. I am sorry I was not able to reply earlier. In view of Thakkar Bapa's letter to you, there is nothing more for me to say. If the Aborigines Conference has got to be held, it must be held in a quieter atmosphere, and by men who are earnest about it, know something of the question and have the desire and the leisure to work for the cause.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI P. KODANDARAMIAH
SWARAJ ASHRAM
POLAVARAM *via* KOVVUR (M. S. M. RLY.)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] Addressee's daughter
[2] Anne Marie Petersen

224. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

October 15, 1934

So much has been written in the Press regarding my proposed retirement from the Congress that it has become necessary to state the position as it occurs to me today. No doubt is left on my mind that many Congressmen do not like my proposals[1] to make the Article regarding the habitual wearing of khaddar stiffer and a more workable spinning franchise compulsory and replace by the words "truthful and non-violent" the words "peaceful and legitimate" in the Congress creed.

Opinion so far expressed renders it wholly unnecessary for me to put these proposals before fellow delegates, in order to test their feelings on them. I have not and never had any desire to carry them by a mere majority. For their proper working a hearty assent of an overwhelming majority is required, by my test. I cannot be satisfied with any majority, howsoever decisive, given as a price for my remaining in the Congress. Such a position cannot flatter my pride or vanity. It can only humiliate me. I do not want to become a patron of the Congress. I regard myself as a humble servant of the nation and a fellow-worker for the sake of service.

My proposed retirement is neither a threat nor an ultimatum. It is a natural consequence of the rejection of amendments, because hearty acceptance of the amendments is necessary to enable me to render efficient service.

It is now as clear as crystal that I cannot secure that hearty assent from the Congress. Subject, therefore, to whatever the informal meeting of the members of the A. I. C. C. may have to say, I propose to retire from the Congress immediately after closing of the session. In this step, I have the fullest concurrence of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Dr. Ansari. The latter tells me that he had made up his mind at Port Said where he saw my statement that my retirement was in every way in the best interests of the nation. He had no doubt also as to the time for retirement. It is wholly wrong to think, as some have done, that the recent visit of Sardar Patel and Babu Rajendra Prasad was for the purpose of pressing

[1] *Vide* "Statement to the Press", pp. 3-12.

me to remain in the Congress. They had never any doubt as to the correctness of my position. I may also state that many of my most valued co-workers, including the Khan Brothers, have heartily endorsed the contemplated retirement. All these know that my retirement from the Congress does not mean the loss of my services. On the contrary, my services are always at the country's beck and call and may be commanded without any Congressman feeling any the least embarrassment because of my retirement from the Congress. I feel that the presence in the Congress of a man like me, having fundamental differences on many of the most important questions, with many colleagues, must be a source of weakness rather than strength. Hence the decision.

Lest my contemplated retirement should be exploited in order to damage the Parliamentary fight in which the Congress is now engaged, I would like all Congressmen to know that I am firmer than ever in my conviction that notwithstanding whatever I have said before to the contrary, I hold the representation of the Congress on the legislatures to be necessary. Boycott of legislatures was never meant to be a permanent step. Those who have no convictions to the contrary and are otherwise free should hold themselves at the disposal of the Congress to serve the nation through entering the legislatures. The present election campaign is a fight not among men but among political principles represented by men or women professing to represent them. It is the paramount duty of voters who believe that the Congress stands in the amplest manner for the nation's goal of independence and that it has counted and will count no sacrifice too great to achieve that goal, to give their vote to the Congress candidates.

Having cleared the ground thus for my retirement, I would invite the attention of Congressmen to the amendments appended hereto giving effect to my proposal for reducing the number of delegates from 6,000 to 1,000. At the most, I hold it to be vital for the growth of the Congress. Unwieldy and merely spectacular as the Congress had become in the years before 1920, it has tended more and more again to degenerate into the same spectacular body. Entertainments and exhibitions, good as they are in their places, have overshadowed the business part of the annual session.

My amendments remedy the evil. These amendments are to be regarded solely as my individual view. In order that the change contemplated may not come without due warning to the nation, with the consent of Sardar Vallabhbhai I have taken the liberty of placing the amendments before the public. There is no question of threat or ultimatum behind the amendments. It will be open

to the Subjects Committee and then to the Congress to reject the amendments, but I would warn them against so doing without the most careful consideration. Let Congressmen understand that I am the author of the constitution[1], as it is. They will also bear in mind that I have had an exceptional opportunity of carefully studying its working. Experience has revealed several flaws in the constitution. My proposal is devised to remove them. That experience may discover other flaws in my proposal is quite likely. When they are discovered, the Congress will deal with them but so far as I can judge, my proposal meets with the present situation, and makes the whole Congress organization, if it is at all honestly worked, a most efficient body and more truly representative of Congressmen than it has ever been.

Briefly, it amounts to this. The maximum of 1,000 delegates will now be distributed not according to the population of each province but in accordance with the number of Congressmen on the Congress register in each province and there will be one delegate to every 1,000 or more Congressmen. Therefore, in order to have the full quota of 1,000 for all India, we shall need 1,000,000 Congressmen on our register. In order to keep up to its level of population, every province will at least have to make an effort to keep its register of members up to the mark. In order to check the tendency that has unfortunately grown up of buying members just for voting purposes at four annas each, the proposed change requires that no one shall be entitled to vote at any election before the expiry of six months after the date of his paying a subscription of four annas. Then again, hitherto, we have had persons in any part of India elected as delegates in any other part of India. The result has been a number of bogus delegates at all Congress sessions. Some Provincial Congress Committees have been known to have offered almost a free run to anybody who has wanted to be elected as a delegate. This is effectively dealt with under the amendments by restricting the election of delegates to only those who might be on the Congress register in the constituency for which they stand. The actual number of delegates to be elected shall depend upon and vary with the total number of Congressmen of six months' standing on the Congress register for the whole of India. In order to ensure the election of delegates who are real representatives, choice is confined to Congressmen on the registers of the differ-

[1] For the constitution as passed at the Nagpur session in 1920, *vide* Vol. XIX, pp. 190-8.

ent constituencies whose number would vary from year to year with the number of Congressmen on the register. Under this proposal, the expenses of election are reduced to a minimum. The possibility for fraud, too, is reduced, where there is desire for tolerable honesty. No constitution that human intelligence can devise will ever be foolproof or knave-proof.

Another change of importance is that delegates themselves become the A. I. C. C. members for the year, thus obviating the necessity for election of an A. I. C. C. and delegates from their provinces become the Provincial Congress Committee members in their respective provinces. Thus I have combined three elections in one and ensured continuity of work.

Then there is the amendment making Calcutta a separate province. When I was in Calcutta, it was suggested to me that I should induce the Working Committee to propose the amendment. If the idea commends itself to Congressmen, the same facility may be extended to some other cities. The experiment has worked well in Bombay.

There is a proposal to replace the new A. I. C. C. by 1,000 members elected by the delegates who will attend the Congress. If this suggestion is fantastic or too hastily conceived, it will have to be withdrawn. But seeing that we might not have another session of the Congress before the beginning of 1936, I thought that it would be better if the change was inaugurated by a more representative A. I. C. C. delegates assembled will have to divide themselves into provincial blocks and each block will elect, for the present, its quota according to the existing proportion.

Congressmen will note, too, that in the amendment there is no provision for the taluk and district committees. This is a deliberate omission. The duty of creating some organization in taluks and districts devolves upon the Provincial Congress Committees, which will appoint committees or agencies or have committees elected in accordance with the spirit of the amendments, i.e., by dividing districts and taluks into constituencies or circles for the purpose of electing committees, which must necessarily be small. At present, provincial organizations contain an unwieldy number. The result has been much cry and little wool.

I may note two more important changes. The Congress has always insisted, in resolutions, on the use of Hindi in the conduct of its business, but members have not, in any appreciable measure, responded to their own oft-repeated resolutions. I have sought, therefore, to introduce a slight education test by requiring every applicant for membership to sign his or her

name in Devanagari or the Urdu script. This much can be learned in one hour. I remember having given no more time to my wife and a 60-year-old client for teaching them to sign their names in English script. Is it too much to expect an aspirant after Congress membership to give one hour for the sake of the nation?

The other change contemplated is to regularize the convention of giving the President power of appointing his own colleagues of the Working Committee, including Secretaries and Treasurer. The idea is to save time and some degree of vexation. Not to accept the recommendation of the President in such a matter would be a vote of no-confidence. No president can work if his colleagues are imposed upon him.

Now I come to two other resolutions. One is to free the Reception Committee from the burden of elaborate arrangements for entertainments and exhibition. These have been, according to the idiosyncrasies of the Reception Committees, entrusted more or less to the All-India Spinners' Association, as they should have been always entirely left to it. I have held special views about exhibitions which I do not wish to reiterate here. The resolution I have suggested regularizes the usually-held convention. The idea behind my suggestion is that the primary and only function of the Reception Committee should be to make the annual session of the Congress a thorough success from the practical business point of view. The present mode makes it impossible for important village or district centres to invite the Congress. The result has been that its educative influence has never travelled outside the principal cities. There is no reason whatsoever why the Congress should not be able to meet even in a village. If they have business ability, the village that invites the Congress will financially not only not lose but gain. There are many important stations on the railway line throughout India, where the Congress can easily meet without the slightest inconvenience to its members. All this can only happen when we develop the instinct for identifying ourselves with the masses and desire to know them and their wants and to appreciate the beauty of village life, when it is shorn of the squalor and poverty that make it what it is today in India.

That brings me to the last resolution. That resolution seeks to bring into being an association that will look after village industries. I have named the spirit behind it, cent per cent swadeshi. What goes under the name swadeshi is no doubt good enough but that swadeshi is bound to make progress without any effort on the part of the Congress: Special effort was, in the early stages,

necessary when the deliberate fashion was to despise everything that was swadeshi, and when it was a mark of civilization, if not also of patriotism, to adopt foreign manners and customs and to use fashionable foreign articles. I well remember my student days when we, the students, used to look with admiration at the fashionable dresses of our teachers which were made of foreign stuff and were looking forward to the day when we should be able to afford the necessary freedom to be dressed even as they were. The Congress can certainly claim to have changed all this and evoked a spirit of swadeshi but it must not rest on its past achievements and move in a circle. It has now to penetrate into the villages and not be satisfied with the ability of the cities to manufacture articles of use and luxury, in imitation of the foreign ones. It has now to understand which village industry has died and why. Whilst the Government has perhaps the largest share in pauperizing the villages, cities, that have developed out of ruin to villages, cannot escape their responsibility for the growing pauperism of the dumb millions and it is not yet too late to resuscitate villages by organizing their industries as far as possible. By so doing, we can surely put many millions of rupees into the pockets of the villagers without much, if any, capital output.

Let me quote some startling figures. The All-India Spinners' Association is serving over 5,000 villages and through them supporting 220,000 spinners and weavers and 20,000 carders. During the ten years of its existence, over 2¼ crores of rupees have been distributed amongst these villagers. In other words, at least that much wealth was produced in the country through the efforts of the Association and the whole of it contributed to the prosperity of villagers, not by destroying any of their industries but by utilizing their idle hours. Out of the two and a quarter crores of rupees, three quarters went into the pockets of spinners alone and 95 lakhs of rupees into the pockets of farmers, for cotton which the Association bought for the spinners. On an average, these three classes of workers, spinners, weavers and carders, added Rs. 12 per year to their earnings.[1] In individual cases, it has been found as much as 43 per cent has been added to the earning of spinners. This is not a fairy tale. These are figures specially prepared at my instance and can be verified by any research scholar who cares to. The figures I have given are an under-estimate, but the A. I. S. A. touches the centre of village life. I admit that its organization

[1] *The Bombay Chronicle*, 16-10-1934, here adds: "Roughly this means a 20 per cent addition to their annual earning."

presents little attraction to those who are not saturated with the village spirit, but the organization which I have now in view presents varied scope for Indian talent. Some of the perishing industries must be revived, if villagers are to live. I am quite convinced that some of these village industries can be revived and are worth reviving. With a little scientific research and a little organizing ability the proposed new association can do a vast amount of work, if, of course, it has the backing of the people, which will be the main capital it will start with. If such an association is to succeed, it must be in the hands of those who have some knowledge of the work and abundant faith in their mission and have love for the villagers. It must be autonomous like the A. I. S. A. A political, democratic organization like the Congress cannot meddle with the work of experts, without spoiling their work and damaging the prestige of the Congress. I, therefore, strongly recommend the adoption of the resolution for creating an All-India Village Industries Association.

The exhibition that I have referred to in my resolution regarding the Reception Committee contemplates the exhibition of the result of the activities of the All-India Village Industries Association as now contemplated. The two together will bring before the public the marvellous result that can be produced through the industries of villagers in their own homes. It is my certain conviction that if the so-called higher classes will but identify themselves with the so-called lower classes and lend them the support of their intelligence and ability, India can become a land flowing with milk and honey and can also achieve her economic independence without deadly war, either with the Government or with the capitalists. Political independence will follow as a matter of course, without the intervention of civil disobedience.

The vital amendments of the constitution and the two resolutions have all been conveyed in that spirit and no other. For me, complete independence of India is an impossible dream without the higher classes merging themselves in those millions who are miscalled the lower classes. And I would like to examine all the three resolutions in that spirit and no other.

Appendix

The following are the proposed amendments to the constitution:

1. Any person over the age of 18 years, who believes in Article I of this constitution, shall, on making a written decla-

ration and presenting an application in the form hereto and on payment of four annas, be entitled to be placed on the register of Congress members, kept at any office duly authorized thereto —within his own district.

1. (a) The application shall be presented in duplicate and may be handed in personally or sent by post or messenger.

2. It shall state in full, name, age, sex, occupation and address (stating distinctly village, taluk, district and province) of the applicant and shall have been duly signed in his own or her handwriting in Devanagari or Urdu character.

3. On receiving the application and on finding it to be in order, the registering officer shall file the application marking on it the date of receipt, serial number and such other particulars as may be prescribed, and shall send one of the duplicates to the Provincial Headquarters.

4. An applicant, on being enrolled, shall receive a certificate of membership as per schedule hereto and printed on durable paper, either in the language of the province in which the applicant resides or in Hindi, in Devanagari or Urdu script.

5. (a) No member shall be entitled to vote at an election of members of any Congress committee, unless he shall have been continuously on the Congress register for six months prior to the date of election.

(b) A member shall be entitled to vote or be eligible for an office only within the registration area mentioned in his certificate.

6. In addition to the existing provinces, the city of Calcutta shall be constituted an independent Congress province.

7. In the case of towns and villages having a population of 2,000 or more inhabitants, the Provincial Congress Committee concerned shall divide it into suitable circles, provided that no circle shall contain less than 1,000 inhabitants. Each such circle shall constitute a village.

8. The delegation to the Congress shall be reduced from 6,000 to not more than 1,000 and shall be in proportion of one to every 1,000 or more members on the Congress rolls, kept in the several provinces.

9. (a) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall report by letter or wire to the Working Committee the total strength of the original members of not less than six months standing, in terms of Article 5(a). Each report must reach the office of the Working Committee on or before the date and time fixed by the Working Committee in that behalf.

(b) Only the members so reported shall be entitled to vote at

election of delegates in that province and in case of failure to report in time, the province may be disentitled to elect its delegates.

10. On receipt of figures for total number of eligible voters, the Working Committee shall fix dates for the election of delegates and the proportion for each province, in accordance with their strength of membership, and call upon the provincial committees to proceed with the election of their quota of delegates. All elections shall take place according to single transferable vote.

11. Thereupon each province shall be divided into as many constituencies as would give five delegates to each constituency.

12. No village or circle shall have voting unless it has at least ten duly qualified members on its roll.

13. No one, not being a duly qualified voter on any of the registers, in his constituency, shall offer himself for election as delegate.

14. Each province shall complete its elections on or before the time appointed by the Working Committee.

15. A complete certified list of delegates shall reach the office of the Working Committee not later than the date fixed by the Working Committee.

16. Delegates so elected shall constitute a provincial quota of the A. I. C. C. of the Congress, as also the P. C. C. of that province, and shall represent the respective organizations as from the date of the annual session of the Congress till the commencement of the next following session. The whole of the Congress delegates shall constitute the A. I. C. C.

17. The A. I. C. C. shall meet at least once again during the period before the next session and oftener if required by the Working Committee or by a joint requisition addressed to the Working Committee by not less than 100 members.

ELECTION TO A. I. C. C.

18. (a) For the period following the current session of the Congress, an A. I. C. C. containing 1,000 members shall be elected by the existing delegates and they shall replace the existing A. I. C. C. and the several P. C. Cs. The number of delegates allotted to each province shall be according to its existing quota. Delegates shall vote only for representatives of their own provinces.

(b) The Working Committee shall forthwith proceed to form the new province of Calcutta and a Provincial Committee for it out of the Bengal P. C. C.

19. No Provincial Congress Committee and no subordinate Committee shall be reconsidered by the Working Committee,

unless it has complied with all the conditions laid down in this constitution or any rules framed thereunder by the Working Committee.

20. On failure on the part of any provincial organization to function in terms of the constitution, the Working Committee may form one to carry on Congress work in that province.

21. The Working Committee shall appoint one or more Inspectors to examine the records, papers and account books of all Congress organizations which shall furnish all information and give to Inspectors access to offices and records.

22. The Working Committee shall have the power to frame rules and issue instructions in matters not provided for in the constitution and for the proper working of the constitution.

23. The President shall select from among delegates members of the Working Committee including Secretaries and Treasurers for his year of office.

All-India Village Industries Association

Whereas organizations claiming to be swadeshi have sprung up all over the country with and without the assistance of Congressmen, whereas much confusion has arisen in the public mind as to the true nature of swadeshi, whereas the aim of the Congress has been from its inception progressive identification with the masses, whereas village reorganization and village reconstruction is one of the items in the Congress constructive programme, whereas such reconstruction necessarily implies revival and encouragement of dead or dying village industries, besides the central industry, hand-spinning, and whereas this work is possible only through concentrated special effort unaffected by and independent of the political activities of the Congress, Mr. Kumarappa is hereby authorized to form under the aegis of the Congress and as part of its activities, an autonomous organization under the advice and guidance of Gandhiji called the All-India Village Industries Association with power to frame its own constitution, to raise funds and to perform such acts as may be considered necessary for the advancement of its objects.

Function of Reception Committee

Whereas, under the vital changes made in the constitution, the annual function will be wholly occupied with serious business before it, there shall be no distraction inside the enclosure containing the central pandal and out-houses and whereas it is desirable to free the Reception Committee from the burden of making elaborate arrangements for entertainments and providing specta-

cular demonstrations, the work of organizing exhibitions and spectacular demonstrations shall be entrusted to the All-India Spinners' Association and the All-India Village Industries' Association, which bodies shall organize them so as to combine instruction with entertainment for the benefit of the people flocking from villages.

The Hindu, 16-10-1934

225. *LETTER TO DR. D. S. SARDESAI*

October 15, 1934

DEAR DR. SARDESAI,

I thank you for your letter. I have had a talk with Jamnalalji, and he tells me that the Ruiya Charities Trust is not yet in operation. But when it is, Jamnalalji says that he would undoubtedly bear your hospital in mind. But he wants me to warn you against building any hope on it just now.

Little Sumitra[1] is living on milk, fruit and some non-starchy vegetables such as marrow, green leaves and the like. Will you please tell me if it is necessary for her to add anything to this diet? I ask this question because her grandmother wrote to say that you had advised that she should take ordinary food. She was taking that food before, but she has always been constipated. What is more, she has had fever off and on. I then put her on the diet she is now having and it seems to have suited her well. There was an interruption only for one day. She had a little chapati, and the next day she developed high fever. I stopped the chapati and the fever stopped and has not returned since. If you do not hold it absolutely necessary for her to have bread, rice and dal, I would far rather not take the risk and let her go on with as much milk and fruit as she can take.

Once more thanking you for the attention you are giving her,

Yours sincerely,

DR. D. S. SARDESAI, L.R.C.P. & S.
OPHTHALMIC SURGEON
SANDHURST ROAD, GIRGAUM, BOMBAY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] Ramdas Gandhi's daughter

226. LETTER TO SHAM LAL

October 15, 1934

DEAR LALA SHAM LAL,

I have your letter. I have nothing more to say. I do hope that you will succeed in this struggle.

Yours sincerely,

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

227. LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI

October 15, 1934

BA,

I fear you are becoming irregular in your letters. It would be better if you keep writing regularly. Khan Saheb has come over. Other people have also turned up because the Charkha Sangh meets today. Rajendrababu was expected but he has fallen ill. Let us see what happens.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Bane Patro, p. 28

228. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

[On or after *October 15, 1934*][1]

CHI. VASUMATI,

You also seem to have become very busy like me. For a few days you wrote daily, and now you don't write at all. How is that? This time I am not bringing any girls with me. Ba also is not coming. I would advise you, too, to remain where you

[1] The letter was written below Prabhavati's letter to the addressee of this date.

are. These days there is no cooking to be done for me. I shall use the ink.[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9389. Also C.W. 634. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

229. TELEGRAM TO DRAUPADI DEVI SHARMA

October 16, 1934

DRAUPADI DEVI
CARE NATHMALDAS BEHARILAL
DANGANJ, KHURJA

WIRE KRISHNA'S[2] HEALTH.

BAPU

From a facsimile: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha,* facing p. 103

230. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

October 16, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

Bapu is in receipt of your p.c. He has approved of your decision to get operated immediately. Don't mind your absence from the Congress, or from Bapu's vicinity. His love will be with you always.

Yours sincerely,
K. G. MASHRUWALA

[PS.]

Send a line after your operation reporting the result and health. Bapu leaves for Bombay on the 19th.

From a microfilm. Courtesy: National Archives of India and Anand T. Hingorani

[1] Presumably prepared and sent by the addressee
[2] Addressee's daughter

231. LETTER TO VENILAL A. GANDHI

October 16, 1934

CHI. VENILAL,

Maneklal has been writing to me about you. Harilal also has written. I should certainly like it very much if Harilal and you could work together. But no decision has been taken about him yet. We are carrying on correspondence with each other. I should like you, meanwhile, to continue to write to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 918. Courtesy: Venilal A. Gandhi

232. LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI

October 17, 1934

CHI. HARILAL,

You are constantly in my thoughts. If I had time, I would go on inflicting long letters on you. If the change that you have described endures, a painful episode in my life would end and I would be extremely happy in this the last stage of my life.

I do not wish that you should do anything beyond your strength. Only as much as your reason and heart accept will endure and seem natural. I am sure that if you followed rules of diet, etc., you would be completely all right. Do not regard yourself as an old man.

I would not be pained if you could do nothing, but I would certainly be pained if you were to break your word to me or do anything which might amount to breach of trust with anybody.

At the moment, it is I who trust you most. Others, that is Ba, Ramdas, Devdas, Kanti, etc., are less hopeful for they have memories of bitter experiences. I have them, too, but I had never given up hope about you, and always believed that one day you would be reformed. I believe that that day has come now. May God help you.

Write to me and give me exact details of your debts and the names of the parties to whom you owe them. I wish to help you as much as I can consistently with my dharma. Do you have to pay interest on the loans?

I see that you have not been able to give up smoking. So long as you find it absolutely necessary to smoke, you may do so as if you were taking medicine. Perhaps you do not know that it is not in the least difficult to give up smoking. It can be done by adopting a simple diet. What do you eat? Are you ready to make changes in your diet?

I had a long letter from Maneklal. He says that you are afraid of temptations in Rajkot. If there is the slightest truth in that, let me know. Have no hesitation at all in telling me the exact truth. Write to me frankly and open out your heart as you would do to a very intimate friend. You made many friends in the past. Forget now the harm that those friendships did you. Now regard me as your only friend. That will certainly do you no harm. And, moreover, there is a Supreme Friend between you and me, who dwells in our hearts and, therefore, knows our thoughts.

I very much wish to send for you here and keep you with me. But my condition is quite peculiar just now. I don't enjoy a moment's leisure. I rise up at 2.30 every morning. Today I rose at 1.45. It is nearing 3.30 now. If I called you, I would feel tempted to talk with you, which, however, I cannot afford to do. I can't stop thinking about you all the time, though. Maybe, father's love doesn't fall away from even a devotee of Mother *Gita*, or perhaps the *Gita* teaches that I should be thus concerned with you. Be that as it may. If you have no fear just now of being overcome by temptations, remain there for the time being and learn spinning on the *takli*, etc., thoroughly.

If you are not keeping a diary, start doing so.

A letter for Manu is enclosed. Ramdas is fairly well. He is still in hospital, though. There is no fever, but he has not regained strength.

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

233. LETTER TO DR. B. C. ROY

October 17, 1934

DEAR DR. BIDHAN,

I thank you for your two telegrams regarding Rajendrababu. It is a great relief to know that he is free from fever and that you are watching his progress.

Yours sincerely,

DR. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY
36 WELLINGTON STREET
CALCUTTA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

234. LETTER TO KALINATH ROY

October 17, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I can think of nothing better to say to Congressmen than this: Be true to yourselves as you will be true to the nation.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI KALINATH ROY
"THE TRIBUNE"
LAHORE

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

235. LETTER TO MANU GANDHI

October 17, 1934

CHI. MANUDI,

You have now become Bhai's[1] instructor, it seems. Teach him spinning on the *takli*, etc., properly. Did you learn the new method of spinning on the *takli* which is being followed here? I am picking it up. I can now spin 40 rounds in half an hour. I hope to be able to spin more. If you know this new method, teach the same to Bhai. Write to me about it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1534. Courtesy: Manubehn S. Mashruwala

236. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

October 17, 1934

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

Bhai Dinkarrao Pandya is leaving for Delhi today. Give him any work you like. As regards his salary I think he should be paid Rs. 200 a month. He has himself explained the reason for it.

I have received a letter about the sheep; the writer asks a few questions. I shall pass it on after answering the questions.[2] Ask Dinkarrao about his experience in America.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Hindi: C.W. 7998. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

[1] Addressee's father, Harilal Gandhi
[2] *Vide* "Letter to R. A. Richardson", 14-11-1934.

237. *LETTER TO ARJUNLAL*

October 17, 1934

BHAI ARJUNLAL,

I have your letter which I find difficult to understand. Jamnalalji has no part at all in this matter. I too am totally ignorant. I have never taken interest in such controversies. Sardar is not partial to anyone. He fights with me too. But we are agreed on one thing, that is, to do only what we hold as truth. If your aim is but to serve, what concern can you have for office! He who craves for office can never serve. I had thought you were now free of the fascination for office. Now tell me, what I can do? You must have seen my statement. Please understand that after a short while I shall have nothing to do with these things. And later no one may even consult me on such controversial matters, but my services will certainly be available if needed.

Give up your infatuation, serve with a pure heart and be a silent worker. I had approached you precisely with this hope which again prompted me to write this.

[From Hindi]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

238. *LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA*

October 17, 1934

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

Dinkar Pandya must have reached there. I have had a talk with Jayaprakash. He has incurred some debt already. Prabhavati's expenses will be met here. I have fixed Rs. 325 a month for Jayaprakash. This time you may send a cheque for Rs. 150 out of which I shall send Rs. 100 to him keeping back Rs. 50 for Prabhavati as it has never been the practice so far to meet her expenses here. This sum of Rs. 50 goes towards the expenditure incurred during her recent visit to Patna.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

How did you like my second statement[1]?

From Hindi: C.W. 7999. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

239. LETTER TO M. V. ABHYANKAR

October 18, 1934

MY DEAR ABHYANKAR[2],

You have read to me a paragraph in the *Maharashtra* of the 17th instant whose purport is that although he was unwilling to sign invitation to the Prime Minister to decide upon the communal question that was before the Round Table Conference, Dr. Moonje, on receiving a message from me that it was advisable for him to sign the invitation, did so. You ask me to give my opinion upon the statement attributed by the *Maharashtra* to Dr. Moonje. I am very sorry to have to tell you that my memory can give me no help in this matter. I have no recollection of having sent any such message to Dr. Moonje but if Dr. Moonje would kindly coax my memory, give me, if he remembers them, the details surrounding the sending of the message and the names of persons concerned, it is quite possible I might be able to recollect the circumstances.

I cannot help expressing my regret that if Dr. Moonje did make the statement attributed to him, before making public use of a message so important as to make him alter his decision, he should have first had his recollection confirmed by me.

M. K. GANDHI

The Hitavada, 22-10-1934

[1] *Vide* pp. 174-84.

[2] President of the C. P. (Marathi) Congress Committee

240. LETTER TO BIRENDRA NATH GUHA

October 18, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I understand all you say. I have had a chat with Sitaramji about the workers whom you mention, and I am writing to Charu Babu.[1]

SHRI BIRENDRA NATH GUHA
VIDYASHRAM
B 76 COLLEGE ST., MARKET, CALCUTTA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

241. LETTER TO CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARY

October 18, 1934

DEAR CHARU BABU,

I have just heard about you from Birendra Nath, and then from Sitaramji who happens to be here. It fills me with pleasure and pride to know of your selfless services. I would like to know still more about your own life and requirements as also of those who are working in co-operation with you.

SHRI CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARY
DIAMOND HARBOUR
24 PARGANAS

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* the following item.

242. LETTER TO R. P. KARANDIKAR

October 18, 1934

DEAR DADASAHEB,

I was delighted to receive your interesting letter. Much more so to think that you were applying yourself, at your time of life, to the Indian problem.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI R. P. KARANDIKAR
SATARA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

243. LETTER TO MEHERBAI F. S. TALYARKHAN

October 18, 1934

DEAR SISTER,

I had your touching letter. I can thoroughly understand your grief. But you must now bravely turn that grief into energy for serving the nation. I know that you have in abundant measure the spirit of service in you. Yet that measure should now be increased, and you will then be able to merge your sorrow in the larger sorrow of the suffering humanity. Of course, my prayers are with you for the departed soul.

MRS. MEHERBAI F. S. TALYARKHAN
29 NEW MARINE LINES
BOMBAY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

244. *FOR HARIJANS' SAKE*

A correspondent asks:

> Why do you insist on sacrificial spinning or self-spinning? Sacrificial spinning is spinning to give away. Self-spinning is to convert your own yarn into khadi for personal use. In either case, you take away something from the mouth of the poor spinner, whom you call the lowliest paid worker. In sacrificial spinning, you do serve the poor a little by assisting to lower the price of khadi. In the other, it is sheer snatching the bread from a poor spinner's mouth.

This would be partly or wholly true, if spinning had become universal. But today there are some Harijans whose wage-earning capacity has been reduced by 50 per cent because they, being weavers, have no hand-spun yarn to weave from. They are now trying to eke out a precarious living anyhow. These would not be reduced to this sad condition, if there was sacrificial spinning going on in the country on any large scale. I have already stated[1] in these columns how in Orissa representatives of nearly ten thousand weavers, who are almost (because unclassified) Harijans, were starving for want of work, which is the same thing as saying want of hand-spun yarn.

It is useless to say that they can weave mill-spun yarn. These ten thousand weavers were doing it. But, owing to Japanese competition, the demand for hand-woven mill-spun cloth has considerably decreased. It is possible for khadi weavers to find a local market for their khadi, not for hand-woven cloth of mill-spun yarn. Time was when there was an abundance of hand-spun yarn because there were hunderds, if not thousands, of sacrificial spinners, and there was a dearth of weavers. Now sacrificial spinning has gone out of vogue, and there is practically a plethora of weavers who would gladly weave hand-spun yarn. Therefore, for a long time to come and so long as there is demand for khadi on the market and until spinning has become so general as to supply the demand, both sacrificial and self-spinning have a definite place in national economy. It means definite, tangible service of the poor and, among them, specially Harijans.

[1] *Vide* Vol. LVIII, pp. 26-7.

Moreover, such spinning, seeing that it has to be done by intelligent, educated men and women, becomes allied to art and thus admits of great development. The marvellous improvements that have taken place in the wheel and its accessories, the hand-gin and the carding-bow, are all due to the interest that the educated middle-class men and women have taken in the movement. All the readers of *Harijan* do not know that the Secretary[1] of the A. I. S. A. is an M. A. and the son of a distinguished and successful banker of Bombay, that its President[2] is one of the ablest businessmen India has produced, that the controller of the khadi organization in Tamil Nad is an equally distinguished ex-lawyer[3], that the organizers in Bengal are an able physician[4] and an able chemist[5], and in U. P. an ex-Principal[6] of a national college. These are but a few names, out of many such I can give, who have dedicated themselves to the service of *Daridranarayana*, through khadi. But for this band of devotees, the substantial progress that it has made would have been impossible, and the half crore rupees that have been distributed among, say, two hundred and fifty thousand workers, not as doles but wages for honest labour, during the years that the spinning movement has been going on, would not have been distributed. In no other or better manner could such quick work have been done than through the wheel. It has brought the lowliest in living touch with some of the most cultured men and women in the country, it has brought a ray of light into dark hovels, it has put heart into sinking bodies, it has provided milk for thousands of milkless children, enabled villagers who would care to have automatic famine insurance, reduced idleness and reclaimed thousands from a beggar's life.

And yet the work is only in its beginning stages. The workers are too few. Those that are need more consecration and greater concentration. Many more hundreds can be absorbed by this national and humanitarian effort.

Therefore, it is wrong to say that sacrificial spinning or self-spinning is harmful to the wage-spinners. It is the peremptory duty of all who can to devote at least half an hour daily to spin for the sake of Harijans—the outcastes of India.

Harijan, 19-10-1934

[1] Shankerlal Banker
[2] G. D. Birla
[3] C. Rajagopalachari
[4] Dr. B. C. Roy
[5] Satis Chandra Das Gupta
[6] Acharya Jugal Kishore

245. NOTES

A Sevak's Difficulty

A Lyallpur correspondent asks the following pertinent questions:

> (1) In many chawls where the Harijans are settled, there is a Muslim or a Sikh population. There are practically no Hindus, or if there be two or three Hindu shopkeepers, they are exclusively under the thumb and control of those zamindars, whose orders they cannot disobey or whose displeasure they cannot incur. Thus, those Hindus are incapable of rendering any help to the Harijans in supplying water to them. How to solve this difficulty?
>
> (2) There is an anti-propaganda of 'Adi-Dharmis', who wean them away from the Hindu society. How to meet or counteract that propaganda?
>
> (3) There is an untouchability within several sects of untouchables.

As to the first question, the first obvious step is to plead with the Muslims and Sikhs to permit the Harijans to use the common well. The second is, side by side with the method of persuasion or after its failure, for the caste Hindus themselves to supply the necessary quantity of water to Harijans. Of course, there is the recourse to the law-courts. Harijans are by law entitled to use common wells, roads, etc., in the same manner as the rest of the public. But this remedy has to be used most sparingly.

For the second question, nothing but progressive repentance and consequent change on the part of caste Hindus can prevent the growing estrangement between them and the Harijans. Adi-Dharmis are themselves Hindus. Their separation is a revolt against caste Hindus for the latter's oppression. They will return to the fold when they see that untouchability has been entirely removed.

As for the third question, the removal of untouchability as between the various sects of untouchables will progress almost, if not entirely, in the same ratio as the removal of untouchability on the part of caste Hindus. For, the observance of untouchability among untouchables is a direct result of its observance by caste Hindus.

"DARIDRANARAYANA" AND HARIJAN

There is a struggle going on between *Daridranarayana* and Harijan. Which includes the other? Thoughtlessly the answer would be, 'Of course, Harijan'. But a moment's reflection shows that *Daridranarayana* is the larger form. Harijans are undoubtedly *Daridranarayana* but they are ranked the lowest by the well-to-do. Hence they are the nearest and dearest to Hara or Hari—God. For, has He not called Himself Servant of His servants? And whom will He serve most, if not those who are the most neglected by the world? *Daridranarayana* however includes, besides Harijans, all those many millions who are not branded outcastes from their birth. Therefore, service of Harijans necessarily includes that of *Daridranarayana*, but that of *Daridranarayana* may not always be also service of Harijans. Writers for *Harijan* will, therefore, do well always to bear this distinction in mind. For they should remember that the *Harijan* is a weekly wholly devoted to the Harijan cause and, therefore, excludes everything that has no bearing on that cause either directly or indirectly. It is necessary to bear this distinction in mind, since I am devoting its columns freely to many matters which I have appeared to have hitherto excluded from them. The fact is that during the hurricane tour I had little leisure to think, as I am now doing, of many efforts at construction, much less to write about them. For their all-round amelioration, there is limitless scope. Do they not represent numerically a large part of humanity and, in point of usefulness, rank perhaps the highest in society? Indian humanity would soon disintegrate, if they suddenly ceased to do the work they are doing at present with the brand of the outcaste on their foreheads for reward.

THE REFORMER'S PRAYER

A correspondent sends the following apposite prayer from Tagore's *Gitanjali*:

> Here is Thy footstool and there rest Thy feet, where live the poorest and lowliest and lost.
>
> When I try to bow to Thee, my obeisance cannot reach down to the depth where Thy feet rest among the poorest and lowliest and lost.
>
> Pride can never approach to where Thou walkest in the clothes of the humble among the poorest and lowliest and lost.
>
> My heart can never find its way to where Thou keepest company with the companionless among the poorest, the lowliest and the lost.

Harijan, 19-10-1934

246. LETTER TO PRABHASHANKAR PATTANI

October 19, 1934

SUJNA BHAISHRI,

I got your long letter dictated in the train.

The information that Kumarsaheb had completely recovered was welcome news. On reading that you had fallen ill as a result of your labour for his recovery, I remembered the story of Babar. Didn't Babar die while saving Humayun? You also have taken up the role of a Prince's father and are draining away your health.

Your caution regarding me is justified. But you and I are helpless in the matter. I will go where Rama leads. He has not yet spoken clearly. Everything will be clear in Bombay. I don't even think about what will happen.

> Vain is it to lament
> What pleases the Master of the world at the moment,
> Nothing happens as we wish,
> Thus shall we save ourselves from worrying over things.

These lines of Narasinh Mehta I have been chanting to myself since 1893. I have also tried to the best of my ability to live according to them, looking upon them as holy words of the Vedas. Such utterances are included in my definition of the Vedas. My God who inspires the Vedas speaks through all languages.

I hope Ramabehn[1] will remain kind to me. I do trust women like her will carry on the burden when the Congress drops spinning from its programme. I know, however, I cannot ask you also to do that.

MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5939. Also C.W. 3255. Courtesy: Mahesh P. Pattani

[1] Addressee's wife

247. LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI

October 19, 1934

CHI. RAMDAS,

I got your letter. You must have received my letters. I will take care to write to you even from Bombay. You may take cod-liver oil and eat eggs if you find it necessary to do so. If the doctor leaves the choice to you, between the two, eggs are preferable. Crores of rupees are spent in the preparation of cod-liver oil, and I do not know how much cruelty is involved in catching the fish. It seems to me to be a Satanic type of medicine. Eggs matured according to modern methods seem to be quite innocuous. We can see this for ourselves by making experiments, whereas we cannot prepare cod-liver oil ourselves. All the same, you know that I encouraged Prabhudas to take cod-liver oil, as also Radha and others. None of us can overcome the desire to live. There is neither sin nor shame in this desire. Cod-liver oil also is one of the means of keeping oneself alive. Even men who are reputed to be spiritually enlightened use it. Who am I, then, to stop you from taking it? This is a matter in which nobody should interfere in another's case. Ultimately, everyone should be his own judge as to what his dharma is. You practise self-examination and are eager to acquire knowledge from others. I have, therefore, tried to tell you about both things as much as I know. You may now take either of them if and when it may be necessary to do so. Stay in the hospital as long as the doctor wants you to do so. All that experience will be useful to you.

And now about Nimu. I don't write much, or anything, to you regarding her, thinking that she writes to you about everything. I have been giving her fairly detailed guidance in regard to food and have made arrangements for teaching her English. Other subjects she is already learning. I send her milk and fruit in sufficient quantity. Prabhavati and Sharma look after her and she remains quite cheerful. During my absence, these two will look after everything. If you have any suggestion to make, write to me. Do you think that I should go there after the Congress session is over, that is, towards the end of this month? Does Ba want it? When you are able to walk about, I should like you

to go to Wadhwan and other places. Maneklal will feel very happy if you go to the new place where he has been transferred. He is very keen that you should go. He praises the air of the place very much. But you will not get fruits there. There is Chorwad too. Stop thinking altogether. If you make your mind light, there will be no danger at all to your life. If you thus go out to these places, Ba may come and stay with me at Wardha for some time. In that case I need not go to Ahmedabad at all. Wherever I go, I am bound to have some public business to attend to. I, therefore, wish to avoid going there. But if you think I must go there I will. Let me know frankly what you wish.

I understand your earnest desire that I should call Ba to Bombay. But I think it will be more proper if she remains there. It will be proper for her to leave only when you can fully look after yourself. I am not taking with me any girl this time. From among the men, too, I will take as few as possible. I shall be accompanied by Kishorelalbhai and Gomatibehn. Kakasaheb and Professor Akshayachandra also will be coming. I don't remember other names at the moment. Let us see what happens in Bombay.

What you say about the danger of my remaining in the Congress being exploited is perfectly correct. It is for such reasons that I am trying to leave it. However, it is not easy to leave such a great institution without doing it harm. There are many pure men, too, in it.

Jamnalalji will remain here. I am not taking even him to the Congress session. I have dissuaded many others, too.

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

248. LETTER TO AMBALAL SARABHAI

October 19, 1934

SUJNA BHAI,

I got both your letters. I understand your inability to be one of the Trustees of the Harijan Ashram. I don't wish to press you too hard. But may I assume that, in regard to the Harijan work itself, you will meet the needs of the work in Gujarat from time to time?

I accept your decision regarding the dairy. The loss during the last year was very heavy indeed. I am looking into the matter. I shall be satisfied if you meet the loss up to December.

I should, however, like to see you adhere to your original assurance. I will not readily let the burden of even Rs. 4,000 fall on you. If the loss was due to no negligence on our part, I will not hesitate to stretch my hand before you. I don't wish to run the dairy at a loss even for one year. Narandas is going through all the accounts. In the budget for next year prepared three or four months ago, the aim is indeed to balance the two sides. Meanwhile I learnt about the loss of Rs. 4,000. Narandas will now go to Sabarmati and guide me. My intention in writing all this is to assure you that, having secured your support in this scheme . . .[1], I have not become indifferent to the losses. It would be against my nature to go on burdening you with losses, however big they may be. In all public activities under my charge throughout my life, I have always tried to balance the two sides. I do not hesitate to incur a loss when I think it necessary to do so, but then I do it knowingly. When conducting research in tanning, or when hoping for profit from Ramachandran lift[2], I did foresee the possibility of loss and had put an outer limit to it. I had involved the late Revashankarbhai in the business of the Ramachandran lift and he had to make good Rs. 5,000. The scheme was then withdrawn. In tanning, we may still have to continue to put up with losses. It is an industry in which it is absolutely necessary that we should take interest. Part of the loss in it will be met by Ghanshyamdas. Into this modest venture in the service of the cow, I have drawn you. It will mean loss of my reputation if you now withdraw. I have inflicted this long explanation, which I have done after first accepting your decision, because I do not wish to lose my reputation with you. You know very well that I have the utmost admiration for your frankness. I don't mind your decision at all. All my business ventures rest wholly on my reputation. The paper of bank-notes, worthless in itself, is backed by some gold at least. The paper of my notes is backed by nothing but Ramanama. With whom, therefore, may I plead if not with a man like you?

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

[1] Omission as in the source
[2] The source has the English word 'pump'.

249. A LETTER[1]

On the Way to Bombay,[2]
October 20, 1934[3]

DEAR FRIEND,

This is to introduce to you Sjt. Kodanda Rao, member of the Servants of India Society, and Editor-in-Chief of the Society's weekly called *The Servant of India.*[4] He has gone to America at the invitation of some American friends. Sjt. Kodanda Rao is a great reformer and friend of the Harijan cause. I would like you to bring him in touch with the group of India's friends whom you are leading.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Gandhi

From a photostat: G.N. 6286

250. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

On the Train to Bombay,
October 20, 1934

CHI. MIRA,

This is my last letter to you whilst you are in the West. The train taking me to Bombay is jolting. You will put yourself in communication with Khan Saheb's daughter and bring her with you if she is at all willing to come. I do not know what is going to happen to Kamalani.[5] You will buy the ticket for Khan Saheb's daughter. He has paid in the money here and Ambalal's firm is being instructed to pay you more money that may be required for the passage.

[1] Presumably addressed to Dr. John Haynes Holmes

[2] & [3] The date-line is in Gandhiji's hand at the end of the letter; at the top, however, is written "Wardha, 19-10-1934" in Mahadev Desai's hand.

[4] Up to this the letter is in Mahadev Desai's hand; what follows is in Gandhiji's hand.

[5] *Vide* Vol. LVIII, p. 450.

Do not be at all disturbed over the events here. Everything is for the sake of God.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6301. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9767

251. LETTER TO VAMAN G. JOSHI

October 20, 1934

Congress should not on any account vote for non-Congress candidates, much less against Bapuji Aney in spite of his unfortunate anti-Congress attitude on the Communal Award. I call it anti-Congress in the sense that it is against the declared policy of the Congress on the question. I therefore suggest that Congressmen should unreservedly vote for Bapuji Aney as opposed to the non-Congress candidates. But Congressmen ought to make it clear that they do not in any way by their vote identify themselves with Sjt. Aney's attitude on the Communal Award.

Reminiscences of Gandhiji, p. 212

252. LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI

October 20, 1934

BA,

Know that it is good that I have not called you to Bombay. There is no point in your going where Perinbehn has been insulted. This is one of the main reasons. Another is that it is proper for you to be there as long as Ramdas is [in the hospital]. The third reason is that my heart is no more with the Congress. I have stopped Jamnalalji too. What shall I call you here for when it is certain that I am leaving the Congress? Nimu is keeping fine.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3081

253. *NEW LIFE FOR KHADI*[1]

[Before *October 21, 1934*]

Even though khadi is the most powerful means for attaining freedom, our khadi organizations are carrying on the work only as an economic activity. An element of democracy can be introduced in these organizations only to a certain extent. Conflict and even competition can have a place in democracy. But these cannot be permitted in an economic organization. Can we think of different or opposing groups in a commercial firm? The whole administration of the firm would be thrown out of gear if such a thing happens. Moreover, the khadi organizations are not merely economic organizations; they are benevolent institutions too. Their aim is not to serve anybody's selfish interests but to promote public welfare. In democracy it is a rule to carry on work by humouring public opinion. The aim of our khadi organizations is to attain not merely *preya*[2] but *sreya*[3] for the people. Hence, at times they may have to carry on their work independently of the ever-shifting public opinion. They cannot be allowed to become the means of nurturing individual ambitions.

While thinking about the reorganization of khadi production you should not forget that in certain matters the economics of khadi and the commonly prevalent economics are poles asunder. I am always reminded of one thing which the well-known British economist Adam Smith has said in his famous treatise *The Wealth of Nations*. In it he has described some economic laws as universal and absolute. Then he has described certain situations which may be an obstacle to the operation of these laws. These disturbing factors are the human nature, the human temperament or altruism inherent in it. Now, the economics of khadi is just the opposite of it. Benevolence which is inherent in human nature is the very foundation of the economics of khadi. What Adam Smith has described as pure economic activity based merely on the calculations of profit and loss is a selfish attitude and it is an obstacle to the development of khadi; and it is the function of a

[1] This is a summary of a discussion with some khadi workers about the need to reorganize khadi work.

[2] Material welfare

[3] Spiritual welfare

champion of khadi to counteract this tendency. Hence, the tactics normally adopted in a profiteering business have no place in khadi activity. For instance, cheating, fraud, falsehood, adulteration, exploiting people's addictions or their baser feelings—things practised in mill industries and ordinary trade—are to be completely shunned in khadi activity. The policy of paying minimum wages to the weaver or spinner with a view to increasing profits can have no place in khadi activity. At the same time, khadi activity cannot be carried on by incurring losses as a result of unpractical attitudes. The reason why our khadi organizations incur losses today is the inefficiency of our workers. In khadi activity spinners and other workers get full reward of their labour but the middlemen and organizers get nothing more than their due share.

Now take the case of standardization, i.e., producing khadi with a uniform policy. Such uniformity cannot be expected in khadi. Rajagopalachari had once remarked that a poor woman cannot be expected to spin yarn of uniform quality as in a mill. She is not a lifeless machine, but a human being. She has her own happiness and unhappiness, she has feelings and is subject to illness. Sometimes she may not be well, sometimes her child or some other relative may be ill and she may be upset and this cannot but affect the quality of her spinning. Unless your heart is made of stone, you must accept her yarn irrespective of its quality provided she does not deliberately spin bad yarn. Her yarn must be dear to us, for it has been sanctified by her honest labour. A mill product does not have that personal touch. Hence, it cannot bring us this spiritual satisfaction. Mechanically produced goods can merely please the eye, but the art of khadi appeals to our human feelings. It touches the heart. Outer beauty is a secondary matter in khadi. That is why I have protested against the sale of bleached khadi. Bleaching increases cost of production, weakens the material and it then becomes difficult to detect any malpractice. Our duty is not to indiscriminately pamper the people's taste, but to canalize it in the proper direction. The starch in khadi automatically goes out after two or three washings and it becomes spotlessly white. Not only this, but it also acquires a kind of softness which is destroyed by bleaching. If the khadi-wearer himself undertook these minor processes subsequent to weaving, the cost of khadi would be much less. It is up to the khadi experts to think of the best way of inducing people to take up such processes.

If khadi activity is to be carried on not merely as a business but as a means to uplift the starving masses, we shall have

to penetrate the spinner's home. We shall have to persuade him to wear the clothes made from the khadi produced by himself. This no doubt means a great reduction in the cost of khadi production; it is also a total saving of the expenditure on sales. So far we have been producing khadi, keeping the urban people in view. From a negligible beginning khadi sales have reached millions of rupees. We now produce many varieities of khadi. But all this does not satisfy me. My ambition in respect of khadi is very much higher than this. It now extends to completely wiping out conditions of starvation from our villages. It can be achieved only when the village people themselves produce khadi and send to the cities whatever remains after local consumption. The secret of the power of khadi lies in the fact that it can find customers right in the place of its production. It is not necessary to go out anywhere in search of a market for it.

The proposition of expenditure on management in khadi production pains me. We can reduce this expenditure a lot if all the time we keep in view the main purpose of khadi. As I have stated earlier, the methods of reducing the cost of production of manufactured goods adopted by the industries that are run for profit cannot be applied in the case of khadi. In the case of khadi the use of machinery can be increased only within certain limits. But there is no limit to increasing art, skill, efficiency and honesty. If we have no faith in these we must wash our hands off khadi. If we want to bring down the cost of khadi production, we must retain only the minimum personnel to manage the organization, and these too should be altruistic, and we should dispense with all the intermediaries and brokers. As a matter of fact, when the khadi activity has fully developed it would have no need of an outer organization. Self-sufficiency and self-propaganda are the natural characteristics of khadi.

The science of khadi is still in its infancy. It is making steady progress. As I go deeper into it, and do research on its laws and understand them, I realize my own limited knowledge of the subject. With the exception of China, there is hardly any country in the world having greater resources than ours. For today, no other country except China has man-power greater than we have. But today this wealth of ours is lying unutilized. The spinning-wheel is a means to put this wealth to use.

Hitherto we have been carrying on khadi work along proper lines. Consequently, we have reached so far. Not only was it inevitable, but in the situation that prevailed it alone was relevant and proper. The real uphill task is ahead of us. For

traversing the remaining distance we shall have to follow accordingly higher standards and think of appropriate measures. Hence, if Andhradesha aspires to have provincial autonomy in the matter of khadi, it can have it for the asking. It would not be difficult even to pay up the liabilities of your organization. That is why I have no doubt that if you wish to work along the lines I have suggested, you would be able to do it without any hindrance.

[From Gujarati]
Harijanbandhu, 21-10-1934

254. LETTER TO MARGARETE SPIEGEL

CONGRESS CAMP,
October 22, 1934

CHI. AMALA,

I have your letter. You did not offend me by not saying good-bye. I do not need these formalities. I hope you are doing your work well and getting ample tuition work. I hope to be back even before 1st November.

Love.

BAPU

Spiegel Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

255. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

October 22, 1934

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I was pained to read your lettter. I stopped you out of regard for your own *sreya*. How very bad it is to desire to come here after having taken up some work there! According to me there is nothing specially attractive here. Please remember this, that out of thirty crores even one lakh people cannot come here. I am sure you didn't wish to come here to see a stage play. Since Om and the other girls have come, it should be all the more plain to you that you cannot come. I shall probably reach there on Tuesday.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3444

256. *LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA*

BOMBAY,
October 22, 1934

BHAI HARIBHAU,

In view of the atmosphere at Ajmer[1] I feel that you and the office-bearers of your group should quit the office. It does not cast aspersion on any one of you—it is only a matter of sacrifice and restraint.

The task [you mention] can be accomplished if the climate is favourable at the time. The regulations now formed are fully capable of creating the right atmosphere.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: C.W. 6080. Courtesy: Haribhau Upadhyaya

257. *LETTER TO DRAUPADI DEVI SHARMA*

BOMBAY,
October 22, 1934

CHI. DRAUPADI,

I had your telegram but no letter followed. Krishna must be all right. Sharma is somewhat disturbed. He has gone to see Surendraji during my absence and will return to Wardha by the time I reach there. You must be getting letters from him. The letter you wrote about him was excellent.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I may reach Wardha on the 30th instant.

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha*, facing p. 109

[1] *Vide* Vol. LVIII, pp. 356-7.

258. *LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA*

BOMBAY,
October 22, 1934

CHI. SHARMA,

I have a nagging worry concerning you and the news that Surendra might not be there has added to my anxiety. The more I reflect the more difference I find in our viewpoints. But I do not despair. We must continue our efforts. You must have sent for Surendra.

I am awaiting your letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha*, facing p. 110

259. *LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM*

BOMBAY,
October 22, 1934

DEAR DAUGHTER AMTUSSALAAM,

I have your letter. Yes, it is quite true that your behaviour has pained me. My expectations could not be fulfilled. But what can you do about it? I reconcile myself thinking that after all you can give only what you have in you. I hope you are keeping well. What shall I say about Sharma? I shall do all that I can. I do hope to reach there on Tuesday.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Urdu: G.N. 311

260. *SPEECH AT VITHALBHAI PATEL'S DEATH ANNIVERSARY*[1]

BOMBAY,
October 22, 1934

I knew Vithalbhai from the time that I came to India in 1915. You would be surprised to know that when I first met him I had no idea that he was a Hindu. I later came to know that he made no distinctions between Hindus, Muslims, Parsis and Christians. He even dressed like that. He used to grow a beard and wear a Turkish cap and a jacket. I remained under that impression for a long time. Then we met at Godhra in 1917.[2] There I saw him dressed like a fakir. A meeting was arranged in the Harijan Colony. At that time very few Hindus had come there. Vithalbhai was one of them. In the mean time I came to know that he was a Hindu and Sardar's elder brother. At that time he had come dressed in short dhoti, a *paheran*[3] and a cap, and so I did not recognize him. He burst out laughing.

After this we came closer day by day. I could see that he was a great servant of the country and that he did not care for money, nor accumulated it for personal pleasure. I used to hear about his brave work in the Bombay Legislative Assembly. After that I also saw his career in the Congress and realized that it was no easy thing to join issue with Vithalbhai. At times Vithalbhai opposed me; but it was a sweet opposition. It never had any bitterness about it. Thus we carried on together.

Vithalbhai was a fighter. The President has described how he fought in the Central Legislative Assembly. From the salary he received as Speaker of the Assembly, he kept a portion for himself and sent the rest to me. That amount of Rs. 40,000 is still lying with me. I have not been able to use it. Then came the weary struggle. I knew his views. His money is lying safe with me. I knew about Vithalbhai's charity. I read in the *Chronicle* this morning that Vithalbhai had property worth Rs. 12 lakhs out of which he had given away Rs. 1 lakh in charity at the time of

[1] The meeting was held at Azad Maidan under the presidentship of Dr. M. A. Ansari.

[2] *Vide* Vol. XIV, p. 73.

[3] A loose shirt without collar and cuffs

his death. I thought that the Vithalbhai who had Rs. 12 lakhs with him could not be the same. If he had given that money to Vallabhbhai, my hand would certainly delve into the latter's pocket. But Vithalbhai was too shrewd [to make a mistake]. So, I thought the *Chronicle* must have made a mistake. It could not be that Vithalbhai had left behind Rs. 12 lakhs out of which he gave only one lakh in charity and kept 11 lakhs for his relatives. So I thought the compositor must have made some mistake. If the *Chronicle* is right, Vithalbhai must have stolen the money. Vithalbhai must have been a speculator. But the only speculation he ever did was about swaraj.

We have gathered here to remember him on his death anniversary. On my way here I heard in the train that Bhulabhai is the chairman of a committee appointed to erect a memorial to him. It is not enough that you merely hear his praises and go away. If you resolve to give for Vithalbhai's memorial something from what you may be getting, you would have done your bit to repay the debt we owe to Vithalbhai. I remember many instances of Vithalbhai's sharp intelligence and efficiency, but I have no time to narrate them now. I have spoken in brief of his sacrifice and service and of how we can emulate his patriotism.

[From Gujarati]

Harijanbandhu, 28-10-1934

261. *SPEECH AT SUBJECTS COMMITTEE MEETING, A. I. C. C.*[1]

October 23, 1934

In the course of his statement Mahatmaji said that he hoped that the members of the Subjects Committee would agree with him in his decision that his retirement was a necessity at the present moment. He would certainly work and help the Congress while remaining outside. The conclusion which he had arrived at after a long deliberation would not be changed. He had already informed[2] the public the reasons that had prompted him to take the decision to retire. He had felt that he had become a drag, a hamper on the natural progress of the Congress. It had been the experience of the Mahatma that during the past few years Congressmen had begun to follow and obey his orders and accepted whatever he had told them although they did not believe in what he said. Under the circumstances he felt that if he continued any further it would not be in the interests of the country or

[1] Presided over by Rajendra Prasad. Gandhiji spoke in Hindi.

[2] *Vide* pp. 3-12 and 174-84.

of the Congress. He had remained at the helm of affairs for long and had taken the Congress as far as he could and he felt that he could not lead them any further. It would be wrong to say, said the speaker, that Congressmen had not co-operated with him in the progress that has so far been made. According to the speaker certain things were necessary for the attainment of *purna* swaraj and he felt that they would strengthen the Congress.

He was not going out as a protest against anything inside the Congress. He was going out so that Congressmen could think and act for themselves. So far Congressmen had acted like blind men going round and round the same pole. His retirement did not in any way mean that he was not ready to come back whenever his help was needed. He was not going out with any bad intention in his mind. He was not anxious to do any harm to the Congress, nor was he going to form a strong party outside the party. The speaker asked as to what purpose he would be serving if he went out to form a party in his 65th year and what more help and co-operation could he expect to get from those outsiders than what the Congressmen had so far given in trying to achieve the objective.

Continuing, Gandhiji said that he hoped that he would be given permission by the members of the Subjects Committee to retire. Although he had come to the decision to retire, he had felt it his duty to consult the members of the Subjects Committee. It is possible that some might say that they had expressed their opinion on his retirement and amendments in the Press but still Gandhiji felt that he should discuss it with Congressmen.

The members of the Working Committee had discussed the question with him. Some of them thought that his retirement would be a disaster to the cause of the country, while there were others who agreed with him that he should retire, and it would help the country, the Congress and himself. That would help the Congress to get a clear view of things.

He had proposed in his original statement three amendments to the Congress constitution. The first was about the creed and that was not acceptable to many. Let it not be taken for granted that he would remain inside the Congress if all the three amendments, which would be moved by some of the members of the Working Committee, would be accepted. He had come to a decision and would stick to it. Whether the Subjects Committee accepted one or all the three or threw away all of them, it did not alter the decision he had taken. Because even if all the amendments are passed, there are several things which had made him come to the conclusion about retirement.

If something miraculous happened or if they convinced him that his presence was essential in the interest of the country, he might some day return to them.[1]

[1] Sarojini Naidu then suggested that for the sake of those who did not understand Hindustani, Gandhiji might summarize his statement in English.

Several members from Madras and Bengal supported the suggestion. Mahatma Gandhi was surprised that there were members of the A. I. C. C. who did not know Hindustani.[1]

[GANDHIJI:] This request is a sound reason why I should leave the Congress. (Laughter)

The member concerned, not baffled, said, "We want you here, to be able to learn Hindi", to which Mr. Gandhi retorted:

If you couldn't learn it in the last 15 years, I have proved an indifferent teacher and it is time you changed your teacher. (Laughter)

Addressing the meeting in English, Mr. Gandhi said:

What I said in Hindi is that if I retire from the Congress, I want to retire, if possible, with your blessings. I want you to feel also that I do not retire in a huff and that I strongly desire to go out of the Congress in order that the Congress may flourish and grow to its full height and grow to its natural height. At the present moment, somehow or other, I am weighed down with the feeling that the Congress is being suppressed by my presence and that the Congress is not giving natural expression to its views. Therefore, it has become an artificial body and nothing can be so harmful to the growth of an institution or a nation than that it allows itself to be suppressed even for the sake of love. It is not then love or, even if it is love, it is of a repressive quality. This excess ought to be thrown out.

Take my own position. The feeling has been creeping over me not for a few days but for months past. I do want you to dismiss from your mind the idea that has been expressed in some quarters that certain letters from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had anything whatever to do with this intense yearning for retirement. These letters perhaps hastened the announcement of the decision, but nothing else. This feeling was given expression to by me to friends in Bengal. I told Dr. Roy and others on the railway station platform that if we cannot get rid of artificiality, of corruption and overpowering desire to wrangle, if we cannot possibly cleanse ourselves of these things, I must retire from the Congress. You will find expressions like these uttered even before they were said in Bengal. This idea has been possessing me day after day till the time came when I could restrain it no longer. That is the history of that decision.

[1] What follows is from *The Hindu*.

There is not the slightest desire on my part to forsake the post of duty or give up Congress work. I am leaving the Congress to lift the weight which has been suppressing it, in order that it may grow and I may grow myself. After all I cannot withhold this much from you, that I am leaving in order to develop the power that non-violence has—non-violence in thought, word and deed, unadulterated non-violence. I borrowed the expression 'Civil Disobedience' and extended its meaning by calling it civil resistance. I have no doubt *purna* swaraj cannot be achieved without civil resistance. We may not offer resistance till I shall feel confident that the spirit permeates not one or two men like myself or even a thousand men like ourselves, but that it permeates the entire society.

Mr. Gandhi added that human nature was pervaded by non-violence and his own researches and experiments had borne that out.

I do not believe—I must frankly confess to you—in the so-called constitutional means for giving liberty to any people. I know no historical instance of pure constitutional agitation, as we have been told and as it has been described to us in text books, having ever clothed a nation with liberty. I cannot claim to have read the history of all nations. I have not the historical instinct, but from what I know I can say that constitutional agitation never regained lost liberty. It is in the nature of things impossible. It is not a gift that can be made by one nation to another or by one person to another.

Mr. Gandhi recalled that the use of the expression that there shall be non-violence in thought, word and deed, did not get inserted by accident, but after a big debate, at the Ahmedabad Congress[1], initiated by Mr. Hasrat Mohani. Mr. Gandhi continued:

I tacked civil resistance to the spinning-wheel and to other acts of mine. I consider them all one. I have said that Hindu-Muslim unity is necessary, not unity in the form of patched-up pacts between politicians, but living unity.

Mr. Gandhi said that he had agreed previously to launching the campaign of civil resistance, like a drowning man catching at a straw and added:

I felt if it went wrong, I will have no hesitation in pulling up even at the risk of incurring your strong displeasure. I plunged into these things merely by way of experiment, but if we are to prove it by our experiment, we have to admit that it was civil

[1] In December 1921; *vide* Vol. XXII, pp. 96-7 and 106-7.

resistance which was not non-violent in thought, word or deed. Civil Disobedience cannot be taken up until there is the atmosphere for it. If I remain in the Congress, I shall be imposing myself upon you. You may say that I am not imposing myself, but I feel that I am and it is better that I retire. And if you prove that you are non-violent, then whether I am on Mount Everest or have gone down to the bowels of the earth, I shall appear and lead you to your goal and we shall march in perfect safety. If we are non-violent in word, thought and deed, then this Ordinance rule would have been utterly impossible.

I cannot change my mind on the cardinal doctrines of the charkha, Hindu-Muslim unity and removal of untouchability, without which you cannot even understand the principles of non-violence or free the Congress from greed and selfishness. These fundamental things, which are part of our creed, should come naturally to us. I may be told that I am asking human nature to give me too much. That may be so. It does not show that I am wrong in not being able to remain in this institution.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan told me that he had made up his mind in Hazaribagh that I should retire and he with me. I told him, "If you are a soldier, you must remain at your post and see whether you cannot take the nation up to the point where you have arrived, in spite of the fact that you have come from a land steeped in violence." I, therefore, plead with you to let me go with your blessing and not plead with me that 'if you remain, we shall do this'. I want you to give me nothing as a bargain. I have not come in a bargaining spirit. I have been struggling with the Working Committee, a majority of whom are in favour of my going out with a blessing. There is a tough minority which says I must not go out, though the minority has also come to the conclusion that if I feel that, even after listening to their argument, I cannot change my view, I must go. I must not be held down by simple force, even the force of love. I must act up to the dictates of my intellect and my faith.

Another point is in connection with the three vital amendments. They have felt so convinced of the necessity of the substance of those three amendments that they will be putting them before you presently in spite of the fact that, as soon as I receive your blessing, I shall retire at the end of the session.[1]

[1] The following three paragraphs are from *The Bombay Chronicle*. Gandhiji then invited the members to ask questions.

Mahatmaji told the members that they should make no speeches. He would give them only 20 minutes to express their views briefly.

Let me be a dictator for 20 minutes. (Laughter)

In reply to a question, Mahatmaji said like Columbus he would go out of the Congress to discover a method to convince them of the value of non-violent civil resistance and like all discoverers would return to them triumphantly with his discovery.[1]

Mr. Sri Prakasa said that Mr. Gandhi had stated that wrangles in the Congress organization were responsible for his decision.

MR. GANDHI: No, I said I had become a deadweight on the Congress.

Mr. Sri Prakasa appealed to Mr. Gandhi to help them to set their house in order.[2]

Just after Mr. Sri Prakasa had finished his speech the time-limit was over and Pandit Malaviya wanted to address the House. Gandhiji said that the time-limit was over but if Panditji did want to speak no power on earth could stop him from doing so.

Pandit Malaviya made an impassioned appeal to Mr. Gandhi not to leave the Congress at this juncture, when it was in the midst of its fight for the freedom of the country. . . . He said that, if there were mistakes and shortcomings on the part of the Congressmen, he should point them out and see that these were rectified but should not make them the justification for leaving the Congress. He had no right to leave the Congress, after having led it for 13 or 14 years. "Whatever you want to do from outside the Congress you can do from within it," added the Pandit. "The farther away you are from the Congress, the greater will be the sorrow of the country." He asked Mr. Gandhi not to be too strict with the masses in regard to the observance of truth and non-violence in the same degree as he (Mr. Gandhi) himself was observing. "You have a proper cabinet with you. Your soldiers are ready to follow you in the fight. Why do you want to leave all these to themselves and go out of the Congress? I make a personal appeal to you, with all my love and regard for you not to retire at this juncture."[3]

Gandhiji, replying to the several questions that had been raised by the speakers, said that he had considered Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya as his elder brother since 1915. If the speaker could carry out the wishes of the Pandit, he would have very gladly done so, considering his wishes as the command of an elder brother. But he felt that he could not help but leave

[1] The following three paragraphs are from *The Hindu*.

[2] The following paragraph is from *The Bombay Chronicle*.

[3] The following paragraph is from *The Bombay Chronicle*.

the Congress under the cricumstances. He was leaving the organization because he was anxious to strengthen it.

He was going out to get *shanti* (peace). He was going out so that he might develop strength to serve the Congress and the country. He said:

I feel today that I have lost the power to presuade you to my view. I have become helpless. It is no use keeping a man like me at the helm of affairs, who has lost his strength. You have said nothing that will make me reconsider my decision. I do not think that it is hasty on my part to do so, but rest assured that even when I go out I will be a humble servant of the Congress.

Mr. Gandhi stated that it was doubly profitable for them to allow him to retire, for thereby they would have his services, whenever they needed them, but at the same time, they would not have to pay a price for it, as they had to do at present.[1]

He would certainly give his opinion, if asked for on any question. At present, he was leaving the Congress with the main intention of working for the Congress.

Pandit Malaviya, interrupting, said that it was not fair on the part of the Mahatma to retire without sufficient notice. It was the duty of every servant, whether paid or honorary, to give proper notice of retirement from the work that had been entrusted to him. He said, "It is for 14 years that you have been at the head of the Congress. Do not be in haste to retire. Give these people time to make proper arrangements for the great work of reorganizing the Congress, which is before them. Give them at least four or six months, if not more."

Replying to the charge of being hasty, Mr. Gandhi said he was a fighter and knew his duty as a soldier. The first duty of a satyagrahi was to stick to his post. He felt that he was not leaving his post of duty. If he felt it was a mistake on his part to have retired from the Congress, he would come back without even waiting for an invitation.

But the position at present is that I am absolutely helpless. My mind does not work. I am not a foolish general to continue to be at the head of the force when I feel that no good would come out of it.

A man who gave an ultimatum to Lord Reading, the Governor-General of India, regarding Bardoli[2] cannot be expected to run away from the battle.[3]

[1] The following paragraph is from *The Bombay Chronicle.*

[2] In 1922; *vide* Vol. XXII, pp. 302-5.

[3] This and the following paragraph are from *The Bombay Chronicle.*

Unless a miracle happened there was no possibility of his continuing to lead the Congress. He hoped that God would give strength both to him and Congressmen so that they might come together again soon.

As for the fear that his retirement would create difficulties for the Congress Parliamentary Board, Mr. Gandhi said that he did not believe it.

I am certain that you will not lose one single vote during the coming elections. If I had feared that it would harm your work, I would not have retired. I finally appeal to you to allow me to retire and tolerate me, just as a family willingly tolerates any of its helpless members.

The Bombay Chronicle, 24-10-1934, and *The Hindu*, 24-10-1934

262. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

BOMBAY,
October 24, 1934

CHI. SHARMA,

I read your long letter, which both pained and pleased me. I was pained because the letter expresses well the turmoil in your heart and I was pleased because I found your heart to be pure. But I suspect you are suppressing yourself. I do not like your working beyond your strength. Your heart I find is with me but your reason revolts. You doubt my wisdom. You view my associates with suspicion. How can I calm you in such a state? I also feel that you sorely miss Draupadi. You may certainly go to Khurja if that is required. You can take the money from Naraharibhai. But if you do not have to go you should stay on there, wait for Surendra, and come away after seeing him.

Anyhow write another letter to me. I shall be here till Monday if not longer.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha*, between pp. 110 and 111

263. SPEECH AT SUBJECTS COMMITTEE MEETING, A.I.C.C.[1]

October 24, 1934

Whereas organizations claiming to advance swadeshi have sprung up all over the country with and without the assistance of Congressmen and whereas much confusion has arisen in the public mind as to the true nature of swadeshi and whereas the aim of the Congress has been from its inception progressive identification with the masses and whereas village re-organization and reconstruction is one of the items of the constructive programme of the Congress and whereas such reconstruction necessarily implies the revival and encouragement of dead or dying village industries, besides the central industry of hand-spinning, and whereas this work, like the re-organization of hand-spinning, is possible only through concentrated and special effort unaffected by and independent of the political activities of the Congress, Mr. J. C. Kumarappa is hereby authorized to form under the advice and guidance of Mr. Gandhi an association called the All-India Village Industries Association, as part of the activities of the Congress.[2]

The said Association shall work for the revival and encouragement of the said industries and for the moral and physical advancement of the villages and shall have the power to frame its own constitution, to raise funds and perform such acts as may be necessary for the fulfilment of its objects.

Commending the resolution to the house, Gandhiji said:[3]

During my Harijan tour this year, a large number of people used to come to me to narrate their tales of woe. Never before had I travelled as I did during this tour. And, in Utkal, I had an extraordinary experience since I was touring on foot. There is no limit to the state of unemployment in our seven lac villages. The people subsist on agriculture. And millions of people suffer losses in agriculture. And what can we say about the present state? Today the farmers do not produce enough even for the

[1] At the request of Rajendra Prasad, who was in the Chair, Gandhiji moved the resolution on the All-India Village Industries Association.

[2] *Vide* also p. 183.

[3] What follows is translated from the Gujarati in *Harijanbandhu*.

seeds. You can hardly find such poverty anywhere else. That is also one of the reasons why people disposed of gold worth lacs of rupees. This has of course its political reason. But the helplessness of the people was also one reason. The spinning-wheel has emerged to meet this unemployment. Apart from India there is perhaps no other country where people depend so completely on agriculture. Madhusudan Das had said that village people must be provided with some additional occupation. He had gone to Germany and learnt leather work. I have always remembered his one remark that those who always work with oxen must have bovine intelligence. Our farmers lost their work and became dull-minded.

A friend left a socialist paper with me. It contains a nice article. It says that the people of India are being reduced to sub-human state. Ten years ago there were many industries, but now they have become dependent solely on agriculture, and this has led to increase in unemployment. The only point I learnt from it was regarding the remedy for this unemployment. When I thought about it the concept of swadeshi emerged in its precise form. We are able to provide work to 2,20,000 women spinners through khadi alone. We have given them three crores in ten years. There are 1,100 men from the middle class who supervise this work and earn their bread. This amount has been distributed through them. This work is being carried on in five to six thousand villages. The capital involved is not more than 20 lacs.

But this is not enough to solve completely India's problem of unemployment. Let me cite the instance of carpenters. Our carpenters were good craftsmen at one time. Today they have lost the skill. Today the village carpenters cannot make even a spinning-wheel. Take Bihar for instance. There sand has piled up in the fields and tilling has become impossible. Instead of giving free food to the starving people there, it was decided to provide them with spinning-wheels. But from where to find the spinning-wheels? The local carpenters could hardly make them.

In our country the urban population is only 30 million. The remaining 320 million live in the villages with a population of less than ten thousand. We have never cared for them. Rather than being concerned about what they eat, drink and what occupations they follow we have simply got upon their backs. I am asking you to adopt the spinning-wheel for their sake. But you do not like even that. Now the Charkha Sangh is providing the spinning-wheels for them. But the work that remains to be done after that will be undertaken by this new Association. It will be

found that other occupations apart from the spinning-wheel can be carried on by people in their homes. They will revive the industries that can be revived. They will devise ways and means of improving the quality of what is already being produced, and find out what new things can be produced. They will thus bring a few more millions to the poor. You have not taken as much interest in the spinning-wheel as I had expected. It was hoped to save through the spinning-wheel and khadi the 600 million rupees going out of the country in the purchase of foreign cloth. But this hope has not been fulfilled.[1]

His proposal did not mean that they should part with their money and gift it to villagers. All he meant was that, instead of spending money on buying other goods, they should buy goods manufactured by villagers. Thus they would keep the money in India and distribute among villagers crores of rupees. He appealed to the House to vote on the resolution on its merits and not because they might persuade him to remain in the Congress. On this latter subject, he would hear what more Mr. Sidhwa had to say, if the President allowed the resolution to be moved.

He also made it clear that he was not setting up an association with a view to using it to rouse political consciousness among the masses. He did not propose even to mention the name of the Congress in the course of this work, in the same way as he had not asked workers in the Spinners' Association to join the Congress. To him, however, political consciousness had a different meaning. If the Association succeeded in reviving industries and improving the present method of work in villages, that would be enough political consciousness.[2]

This Association will be related to the Congress exactly like the Charkha Sangh. Shankerlal, Jamnalalji and others manage the Charkha Sangh but the Congress can still look into its working. Kumarappa belongs to the Congress. At present he is keeping account of our millions of rupees in Bihar. He was the Secretary of the committee appointed by the Congress to inquire into the liabilities thrust on India by the Government. He is a chartered accountant and he has made a great sacrifice. He does not crave for money. He is interested in this kind of work. I have discussed the matter with him and he has agreed to do this work under my supervision.

I do not wish to take up this work as a political activity, but to help the poor unemployed village people earn a few coins.

[1] The following two paragraphs are from *The Hindu*.

[2] What follows is translated from the Gujarati in *Harijanbandhu*.

That is why I wish to keep this work free from politics. You will be surprised to know that not a single person from among the 2,20,000 spinners, 20,000 carders and 20,000 weavers to whom the Charkha Sangh provides work is a member of the Congress. The Congress constitution has accepted spinning franchise. Hence, they can all become members if they want to. But we have made no such effort. Even by not joining the Congress they are not going to remain unacquainted with the political activity in the country. But they must know that we have gone to them to serve them and not with the intention of exploiting them for our political objectives. This resolution involves no financial responsibility for the Congress, only the name of the Congress is required. Accept this resolution if you are in favour of it.[1]

Gandhiji in replying to the several questions that had arisen from the discussions said that the first amendment wanted that the words "dead and dying" should be deleted from the resolution while the second wanted the replacement of certain words.[2] The work of the Association would be to revive the industries that were ruined or dead or were in the state of dying. The work as to which of the industries should be revived and which should be allowed to die away was to be left to the Association. By the revival of the village industries it was the intention of the resolution not only to help the villages financially but improve them morally and physically as well. It was not the intention of the movers of the resolution that the villagers should be exploited, but they wanted to help them.

The Congress was not going to approach the villagers as anybody's agents. It was the intention of the Congress to find out why people were working for 18 hours, if there were any so working. The speaker wanted that everyone would work not more than 9 hours and that could be done by increasing the earning capacity of the villagers. For this the speaker wanted the help of those who were well off and could sacrifice a little more for the sake of the villagers by paying for the articles manufactured by the village artisans. Today the condition was such that even if they worked for 18 hours they did not get enough to make both ends meet. This could be done by the speaker and others of the Association when they went and mixed with the villagers freely and gained their confidence.

[1] Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan seconded the resolution. What follows is from *The Bombay Chronicle*.

[2] Dr. Sanyal in his second amendment wanted the words "the said industries and for the moral and physical advancement of the villages" to be replaced by "such village industries as after due enquiry are found to possess sufficient economic vitality and are likely to bring permanent economic relief to the people".

Continuing, Gandhiji said that his report that would be submitted to the Congress at a future date would be to say what the condition of the village industries was when he took up the work and what it had achieved in so many days. For such a work in the seven lacs of villages in India it was necessary that Acharya Kripalanis and Dr. Roys and advocates should work hand in hand.

Referring to Mr. Muzumdar's amendment[1] Gandhiji said that he was bewildered when he found that a man of the type of Mr. T. Prakasam supported the amendment and said that because Congressmen were going to the Assembly the work could be better achieved by them inside the Legislature.

Gandhiji wanted to assure the Subjects Committee that the duty of the Parliamentarians did not end by their entering the Legislature. They would certainly be expected to work for the Industries Association also. But it must be understood that the organization would have no connection with politics.[2]

Explaining why he wanted the organization to be independent of politics, Mr. Gandhi said that if he tried both things at one time, he would not be able to achieve either.[3]

There is a special reason why this Association has been kept out of the Congress politics. This work must continue irrespective of the political situation. We go to the people to serve them. Let us not whisper politics in their ears. We go to them to improve their health, to free them from disease, to raise them from squalor, to reduce unemployment by giving them occupation. We cannot bring in politics if this is our aim. Even when the Congress was banned the Charkha Sangh was not banned and its work went on. That Association belongs to the Congress none the less. But it has kept away from Congress politics. The new Association too will have the same position.

I had said the same thing at Karachi[4]. Those who opposed me at that time told me afterwards that what I had said was correct. My advice was that the Anti-untouchability League and the Prohibition Committee be kept away from politics, and it was sound advice. A friend pointed out that Kumarappa and others would attend to this work; in that case, what work would be left for the Congressmen? It is not so. It will have a place for every Congressman who has faith in this programme. Today, there are 1,100 workers in the Charkha Sangh who are all Congressmen.[5]

[1] Basant Kumar Muzumdar wanted the House to decide whether the activities of the organization should be outside the scope of the Congress.

[2] The following paragraph is from *The Hindu*.

[3] What follows is translated from the Gujarati in *Harijanbandhu*.

[4] In March 1931

[5] The following paragraph is from *The Bombay Chronicle*.

Referring to the suspicion that seems to be entertained in certain quarters against his starting these organizations outside the Congress with little connection with the parent body, Gandhiji said that it should not be forgotten that even a Mahatma and an economic expert put together could achieve very little, if the whole scheme was not going to be worked out by Congressmen themselves. Though outside help would also be taken, the main help had to come from amongst the tried workers of the Congress.[1]

Bhai Govind Sahai says that I am talking things of the bygone ages and that I am an arch enemy of machines. He has read my writings with a distorted view.[2] Is not this charkha in front of me a machine? We do want machines but do not wish to become their slaves. We should make the machine our slave. 'Our slave' means slave not of the rich but of the poor. I accept money from the rich for the sake of the poor, but does it therefore lay me under an obligation to help them if I may collect five thousand rupees from a mill-owner or an iron manufacturer? Those who would give must do it with the idea that they should give something for the benefit of the poor from whom they have taken so much. In this way I plunder the rich [yet] some people say that I am an agent of the rich. I am no more than a labourer. I have laboured with the labourers. I have lived with them. I have shared food with them. I claim to be a representative of the working class for whom I obtain help from the rich. I do not wish to make our 350 million countrymen slaves of the machine. I see no socialism in it. My concept of socialism implies that people should be self-reliant. That is the only way they can be prevented from being exploited. I have been trying to persuade the workers that if the capitalists have their gold and silver, we have our hands and feet. These too are assets. A capitalist will never be able to carry on without labour. Let no one misunderstand that the Sangh is going to serve the purpose of the capitalists, thereby making the workers slaves. On the contrary it proposes to release them from slavery, by making them self-reliant. How can this involve enslaving? I have given deep thought to the whole scheme before putting it before you. This is the only way of reviving the village industries and I am seeking your help for the purpose.[3]

[1] The following paragraph is translated from the Gujarati in *Harijanbandhu*.

[2] Govind Sahai was "opposed to the principle underlying the resolution" "not because he grudged seven crores of rupees being distributed among the villagers", but because, according to him, real economic freedom for the masses of India could be attained only when they were educated and taught how they were being exploited. He appealed to Gandhiji to change his methods and programme.

[3] The following is from *The Bombay Chronicle*.

Whatever the fiscal policy of the Government was, nobody could stop the villagers becoming economically independent by developing village industries. Many Congressmen like Mr. Mathuraprasad were asking what they should do after the election campaign was over. Gandhiji said that there was the All-India Spinners' Association and the All-India Village Industries Association where both Dr. Sanyal and Mr. Muthey could work.[1]

The Hindu, 25-10-1934, *The Bombay Chronicle*, 25-10-1934 and *Harijanbandhu*, 28-10-1934

264. *POLISHED* v. *UNPOLISHED*

In my writing[2] on cent per cent swadeshi, I have shown how some aspects of it can be tackled immediately with benefit to the starving millions both economically and hygienically. The richest in the land can share the benefit. Thus if rice can be pounded in the villages after the old fashion, the wages will fill the pockets of the rice-pounding sisters and the rice-eating millions will get some sustenance from the unpolished rice instead of pure starch which the polished rice provides. Human greed, which takes no count of the health or the wealth of the people who come under its heels, is responsible for the hideous rice-mills one sees in all the rice-producing tracts. If public opinion was strong, it would make rice-mills an impossibility by simply insisting on unpolished rice and appealing to the owners of rice-mills to stop a traffic that undermines the health of a whole nation and robs the poor people of an honest means of livelihood.

But who will listen to the testimony of a mere layman on the question of food values? I, therefore, give below an extract[3] from *The Newer Knowledge of Nutrition* by Mr. Collum and Simmonds which a medical friend, to whom I had appealed for help, has sent with his approbation.

Harijan, 26-10-1934

[1] All the amendments were lost and the resolution was passed by an overwhelming majority.

[2] *Vide* Vol. LVIII, pp. 293-4.

[3] Not reproduced here

265. *'NOT TO COW BUT TO SCORN?'*

A young Englishman who has lived in Madras for two years writes from his home in Essex:[1]

> . . . I believe that, of the Hindu population, untouchables are in the majority. Of course I may be wrong but if correct, then, I consider the most effective measure to adopt in righting and preventing the grievous humiliations put upon this great body of people is not to approach the perpetrators (high castes) but the development of a 'line of defence' through the untouchables themselves.
>
> The forming of a Brotherhood amongst themselves that will encourage the development of an existence, entirely independent of those to whom they appear to be objectionable, should, by degrees, build up a "strong point" and cause these now humbled folk not to cow, but to scorn and ignore the spurning and lashes now directed at them. . . .

The writer evidently does not know that there is a cult among Harijans which is trying to do exactly what he advises me to do. But that way does not lie the salvation of Harijans, certainly not of caste Hindus. The logical result of what is preached by the correspondent must be another problem akin to the Hindu-Muslim one, only much more intense. That way is the way of hate which is violence. The way I am trying to follow is the way of love which is non-violence. Having belonged to the oppressor class and having by choice made the attempt to become one with the oppressed, I have learnt that the true way of securing justice is to inculcate mutual respect, in other words, to evoke the spirit of equality or brotherhood in the place of that of superiority and inferiority. This can best be done by the 'superior' class being induced to descend from its fancied height. The so-called 'inferior' class has to be taught, not to scorn, but to be induced to shed the fear that is born of a consciousness of inferiority.

Therefore the Harijan Sevak Sangh is performing the double duty of asking the caste Hindus, on the one hand, to repent of the injustice that they have done to the Harijans and is working, on the other hand, among the Harijans by spreading education among them and by bringing to their notice the evils that oppression always breeds among the oppressed. To deprive

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.

a man of his natural liberty and to deny to him the ordinary amenities of life is worse than starving the body. It is starvation of the soul—the dweller in the body. Harijans are a powerful illustration of this process of starvation of the soul. No amount of mere literary education or even economic betterment will restore the lost dignity of man. That restoration can only come when self-realization comes. This realization will not come without repentance on the part of the superior class. Superiority complex and inferiority complex are two faces of the same coin. Both are equally bad. Both require treatment. Mere transference of scorn from the 'superior' caste Hindu to the 'inferior' Harijan does not remedy the disease, it only aggravates it. 'Not to cow' is sound advice. But 'to scorn' is as bad as cowing. 'Love one another' is, therefore, the only advice an impartial observer can give. And I hope that the writer of the letter sees the weakness of the formula.

Harijan, 26-10-1934

266. SPEECH AT SUBJECTS COMMITTEE MEETING, A. I. C. C.

October 26, 1934

You have in your affection misread the whole of my position.[1] If you have given me the position of a general commanding an army, you must allow that general to judge whether he serves the army by being at its head or whether he serves the army by retiring and giving place to lieutenants who have served well.

It is always the wisest thing for the general to swing to power or office or withhold that power that came to him unsought, because there are occasions when generals have been found to consider themselves unequal to hold the reins, and in the interests of the army, the interests of the cause for which the army and its chief are fighting to give up the command. If you believe that I have been a fairly wise general, you must believe in my judgment even now when I seem to be deserting you in the hour of your defeat.

I have said times without number that I myself share no feeling of defeat. I am not deserting the cause for which I

[1] Earlier the Subjects Committee had unanimously passed a resolution expressing the country's confidence in Gandhiji and requesting him to revise his decision to retire.

live, and for which I love to work. I go away from you in order, as I have said, to discover if there is still greater possibilities in experiments that we have been making, and for which you have given me such a generous support. I must express to you that I seem to have come to the end of my resources. I must confess to you that I have not lost faith in the efficacy of the means that I placed at the disposal of the Congress. But I feel there is a body of opinion rising in the country which has begun to question the efficacy of this means, and it is because they question the efficacy of this means that they have the sense of defeat in them.

In the dictionary of a satyagrahi, there is no such thing as defeat. To him, the very pursuit of his battle is its own reward.[1] But when I find some of my best companions, who have believed in truthfulness and non-violence with all its implications, are filled with doubt and feeling of helplessness, when I find that I am not able to touch them with my faith, I see all around me an impenetrable darkness. I see no ray of light. I see I cannot infect them with the faith that is in me.[2]

Therefore I would like you not to take me literally when I say that I go, if I can get your blessing. I go with your blessing in search of greater power to discover means whereby I can give you the faith that is in me. It may be that the search will be in vain. It may be that my roaming in solitude will be in vain. But depend upon it that I shall not wait a moment longer to be called by you, when I feel the necessity. I shall come to you, and once more come to the Congress to register myself as a primary member, and do whatever I can in the interests of the Congress.

I ask you therefore not to feel dispirited, but to feel that you will be able to discharge your duty, that you will have leaders enough to lead you on to victory. When it becomes necessary for me to come to this House, I will be entirely at your disposal. Therefore, I would simply urge not to press the resolution further. You have unanimously passed that resolution. Let that be enough. Somehow or other I believe good, and only good, will come out of this decision. If you yourselves stand for the principle for which I stand, and for which you have given allegiance, which I acknowledge you have given out of your

[1] A report in *The Bombay Chronicle*, 27-10-1934, here has: The very pursuit of truth is its own victory.

[2] *The Bombay Chronicle* here has: I have abundant faith in my programme. In the apparent darkness that envelops us, I see millions of rays of light, but I cannot show you that light.

generosity, some of you no doubt blindly, some of you after having considered for yourselves, I have in all humility accepted all these allegiances. Let me now prove to myself, if it is possible, that I am worthy of it, and I invite you to prove it for yourselves also, whether I remain a member of the Congress or not, that the principle that you have more or less followed during all these long or short 14 or 15 years, you have followed because you have believed in it.

I tell you that it gives me still greater joy and pleasure, for I am able to say to myself, and if you are able to say to the world, that although I am gone you believe in the principle that you have fought for and lived for all these years and that you are going to follow them out not loosely, but still more truly and thoroughly than you have done before.

Immediately after his speech dealing with the question of his retirement Gandhiji proceeded to move formally a comprehensive resolution incorporating all the recommendations of the constitution sub-committee and the Congress Working Committee. In commending the whole of the resolution for the acceptance of the House *in toto*, Gandhiji at the outset referred to the previous day's decision of the House turning down the Working Committee's recommendation relating to the change of the Congress creed.[1]

Mahatma Gandhi delivered a stirring address lasting 90 minutes in which he appealed to the Subjects Committee to adopt the revised constitution.

Mahatma Gandhi referred to Thursday's vote and congratulated the House on the frank way in which they had voted in referring the question of change of creed to provincial committees. He said, when he had read the public and Press criticism of his proposals, he had made up his mind not to take up those amendments, but members of the Working Committee had of their own accord unanimously taken the view that the Committee would sponsor those resolutions. Gandhiji added:

I was surprised to find that members of the Committee devoted two hours this morning to deliberating as to what was their duty in connection with these amendments. I told the Working Committee to carry out your resolution, but my feeling is that Mr. Sidhwa's amendment was wholly unnecessary. You could have rejected the Working Committee's proposal, but there was no use circulating it.

[1] *The Bombay Chronicle* here has: In moving the amendments to the Congress constitution as adumbrated in his Press statements, Gandhiji congratulated the House on its frankness in rejecting the Working Committee's proposal to substitute 'truthful' and 'non-violent' in place of 'peaceful and legimate'. "But I cannot say that you acted wisely," he added.

I listened carefully to Mr. Patwardhan's speech. He argued ably, but either he was deceiving himself or he was acting simply as an advocate. He said that we had descended from ideals to realism. But has not socialism its ideals and if I told him to remove even a comma from their ideals he would reject my proposition. Do you suppose you will realize complete independence at any time even after fifty generations? The socialist creed goes even further. I suggest we must have a measuring rod. The day humanity ceases to believe in ideals, it will descend to the level of the beasts. Today if you believe in truthfulness and non-violence say so. It does not mean you will be cent per cent truthful. I am not cent per cent truthful.[1]

If I were, my words will pierce you like arrows and come out clean, but I must aspire to attain my ideals.[2] Did Marx live to see his ideal realized? Is it not undergoing changes and are not meanings put to it which Marx himself never dreamt of? If you do not mean by "legitimate and peaceful" means that they are "truthful and non-violent", then merely define your creed to be that of attaining your end by whatever means you think legitimate. Then that would be your measuring rod, but you must have a measuring rod. You must be clear about your aims and means. They are convertible terms.

You know that swaraj is your goal. It means "*purna* swaraj" but someone said it did not mean complete independence; so we defined it to mean "*purna* swaraj". Just as you did that you must define your creed so that it may not be open to double interpretation. No one can draw a right angle, yet Euclid drew it up in imagination and gave the engineers a measuring rod by which the world has progressed. There is a right angle which is treasured in the Tower of London.

The Working Committee on Friday asked you to define your measuring rod. You sent it round for circulation. That was not the right course to take. Let us not tell the world that there is one thing on our lips and another in our thoughts.

Mahatma Gandhi next explained the main purpose of the amendments proposed in the constitution. He said:

[1] *The Bombay Chronicle* here has: I have never dared to make such a claim.

[2] *The Bombay Chronicle* here has: If I was cent per cent truthful, every word of mine would pierce you like an arrow and emerge uncontaminated and fill you with truth, but I aspire to be cent per cent truthful. If humanity were to give up its ideals, it would descend to the level of beasts. Ideals we must have and ideals always recede.

Do not pass these changes buoyed up with the hope that I will reconsider my decision. If I began my unofficial leadership of the Congress by the constitution for which I was primarily responsible I am also tendering you a humble gift in the shape of this amended constitution so that you may get the benefit of the judgment and experience of one who has endeavoured to live that constitution in closest communication and communion with you and has discovered its faults. I want you, therefore, to pass these amendments after touching them up.

You can take a day for consideration after hearing me and do whatever lobbying you like and give your verdict. You must first make up your mind to reduce your delegates from 6,000 to 1,000. If you reject that, the entire scheme falls through.

The second point is that the delegates should be real representatives of the people. We are indirectly representative of the nation's dumb millions. We are their mouthpiece, their voice and their thought. That is what the Congress has stood for since 1885, but indirectly we are representatives only of our electors.

Can anyone among us say whom he represents, as to whether he is in living touch with his constituents and knows their feelings? Even the tallest amongst us cannot claim that. Sardar Vallabhbhai is the uncrowned king of Gujarat, but which electorate does he represent, whom do I represent, I do not know. I challenge anyone to produce the Congress register of electors. We must have constituencies and electors and each member shall represent his constituency and be in living touch with it. Then alone you will have your measuring rod.

The third principle I have put forward is that three things be combined in one election. It will not merely mean greater convenience and saving of money, it is rich with promise if you adopt it. Delegates will then be elected by their electorate. They will not assemble as now for three days in a year and then disappear from the horizon. They will remain active Congressmen as members of the A. I. C. C. and will take up work all the year round.

Today only 350 out of 1,530 are members of the A. I. C. C. Then again a body of 1,000 can be accommodated in Sardar Vallabhbhai's Ras or Bardoli. I have got a complete scheme ready for a successful session being held in the village of that character. Those villages can slave for you but they cannot give you money for your Reception Committee. You must have people who know the business of running a Congress meeting and even importing provisions and the Reception Committee shall not waste lakhs on its arrangements.

I question the wisdom of the Reception Committee wasting lakhs on *tamashas* and in building triumphal arches. Where is our triumph? We are a slave nation and all we want the Reception Committee to do is to give us the hospitality, not of pudding and ice-cream, but ordinary food. Our scheme is to relieve the Reception Committees of their heavy burden. If I had been in Nariman's position I would have become a lunatic.

Mahatma Gandhi, reverting to his plea that the matter be not referred to Provincial Committees, said:

Why do you want to refer it to the provinces? Why shirk your duty? You are super-delegates because you are the Subjects Committee. Others are mere delegates, but mere delegates representing 350 millions. Then I say it is for them to hammer out a constitution and not shirk the duty. I promise you fair consideration of every criticism you have made. I am giving you an iron constitution from which not one single man can go away. If there is any corruption you can detect it unless everyone becomes a fraud. No constitution can be robber-proof and thief-proof. I have sufficient faith in my countrymen that they will never betray their country.

Sri Prakasa says our present constitution is rotten. Then are we to waste another year in waiting for what we shall do? I am sure that the position will remain where it is and we will not receive a single report during the next twelve months. Make such use as you can of the wisdom you say is possessed by me whom the world holds as a fool. But wisdom sometimes does come out of the mouth of fools. I would like you to accept my suggestions and I will be ready for compromise. Already, when Mr. Masani came to me, I assured him that I wanted Socialists to be represented. They are the advance wing. There is nothing to be feared from their activity. They call themselves Congressmen and while they are Congressmen they are supposed to believe in the Congress creed and loyally follow the discipline of the Congress. If they fail to follow the Congress discipline, they will fail in their own creed. I have agreed to their suggestion regarding the single transferable vote. This constitution has been revised by able lawyers like Mr. Bhulabhai Desai and Mr. K. M. Munshi and many others have been consulted. I may also make it clear that there will be plural constituencies in urban areas, but their number is not defined. The Working Committee is entirely in your hands in these matters of detail, but do not postpone these matters.

You are going to have a Parliamentary Board. They will look after the Assembly work. In the Assembly it is not a battle between men, but between principles; our members will go to represent the principles which will not require eloquence, but will be enunciated in unequivocal terms.

Hereafter you will have your register of electors and you will be in living touch with them. Mr. Nageshwara Rao says that there are 7,000 voters for one seat. My scheme is modest. It wants only 1,000 voters for one seat. I will be satisfied if you are the representatives of one million and then we can have more and more. But I do submit that we will lose one precious year in the life of the nation by referring these matters to Provincial Committees.

Proceeding, Mahatma Gandhi referred to the amendments seeking to incorporate the existing convention of allowing the President to select his colleagues of the Working Committee in the Congress constitution. Gandhiji said that there had been no single instance in the past wherein the President's choice in this matter had been overridden by the A. I. C. C. But he thought it would be better to incorporate this convention in the constitution so as to avoid difficulties attendant on selection of candidates. The President under this amendment would not have to stand the fire of cross-examination at the A. I. C. C.

There must be some occasions in the life of the Working Committee when they would have to say: "If you want us to carry on then we ask you to arm us with certain powers and if you cannot trust us then you must look for better men to fill our place." For the same reason he had sought that the Secretaries and the Treasurer should also be the President's choice.[1]

Home Department, Political, File No. 4/27/36. Courtesy: National Archives of India

[1] This appeared in *The Bombay Sentinel*, 27-10-1934, extracts from which are found in the National Archives of India.

267. SPEECH AT SUBJECTS COMMITTEE MEETING, A. I. C. C.

October 27, 1934

When the Subjects Committee met on the morning of the 27th Mr. Gandhi continued his speech on his amendments to the Congress constitution. He said that when they discovered so many breaches in the walls of their house, they should fill them in quickly. There was nothing in the new constitution requiring study or reference to outside authority. If they wanted to circulate it, he would take it to mean that they did not want it. If they were not convinced about the absolute necessity of passing the constitution, he would beseech them to reject it. Referring to the question of reducing the strength of the Provincial Congress Committees, he said that he had had bitter experience of unwieldly bodies losing sight of the work before them. That was why he was desperately in earnest about it. The essence of democracy did not lie in numerical strength but the spirit behind even one person. Even one man could represent a whole democracy. In England, he said, it was not the House of Commons but it was the Bank of England that dictated policies to the British Ministers. Recently the Bank had finished its business in the record time of 13½ minutes. If the Bank could manage such huge affairs in 13½ minutes, the Congress should be able to manage its affairs in five minutes. Mr. Gandhi then moved that the Subjects Committee should accept the principle underlying the new constitution and appoint a sub-committee to consider the constitution and place their recommendations before the Subjects Committee by 8 a.m. on the 28th.

Replying to the debate, Mr. Gandhi said he had been asked whether he would reconsider his decision if the Committee accepted his amendments without changing a comma. He assured them that there was no "danger" of his remaining in the Congress in any event. He asked them to accept the new constitution only if they had confidence in it.[1]

Bombay Secret Abstracts: Home Department, Special Branch

[1] Gandhiji then accepted M. S. Aney's resolution which read: "The Subjects Committee accepts the principle underlying the proposed amendments to the constitution and appoints a sub-committee of the following 15 members to examine the details thereof and place its recommendations before the Subjects Committee for approval by the morning of the 28th." For the report of the sub-committee, *vide* "Speech at Subjects Committee Meeting, A. I. C. C.", pp. 237-44.

268. SPEECH AT SWADESHI BAZAAR[1]

BOMBAY,
October 28, 1934

Since Sjt. Shoorji Vallabhdas started this Swadeshi Bazaar, it has attracted my attention and I had promised that I would visit the stores at the earliest opportunity. That happy opportunity has been postponed due to various reasons up to this day, and even today I have had to snatch some time from my other engagements to fulfil my promise and as I have to return soon, unfortunately, I will not be able to give you much of my time. I have repeated very often that as long as the charkha does not hum in every village, we will not be able to attain swaraj nor will we be able to safeguard religion. Before our very eyes crores of our own brothers and sisters are not getting sufficient meals even once a day, while we enjoy two square meals. These crores are starving not because they do not wish to work, but because they do not find work. If you would place the charkha in their hands or if you can find out any other work for them superior to the charkha you may give that first and then the charkha. But do give these starving millions some work and then alone you will be able to bring food for their famished bodies.

Suppose you set the charkhas going, what about the khadi that will be manufactured? You all want to put on cheap and good-looking clothes in preference to khaddar, then in what way can you be of help to these poor starving people? Even if khaddar be costly it is your and my duty to use it. In our country millions upon millions have not even the bare loin-cloth to hide their shame, how can you expect them to put on khaddar? It would interest you to know that within ten years two-and-a-quarter crores of rupees have been distributed as wages amongst the spinners. This sum has gone direct into the hands of the poor. By putting on khaddar you can help these people. But to my utter regret I find that in Bombay many of you—both men and women—do not put on khaddar. If you do not wish to put on khaddar, where is the sense in being present at meetings which

[1] Gandhiji presided over the third anniversary celebration of the Shoorji Vallabhdas Swadeshi Bazaar in the morning.

are addressed by me? I have come here with the hope that you would cast aside mill-cloth and use more and more khaddar. I am confident that all the other articles also that are being sold in this Bazaar are completely made in India.

Today, I have not been able to go into the details of all the articles that are exhibited here, but on a future occasion I mean to interest myself in details with regard to each and every article to be found here. That this Bazaar is not making profit has been realized by you and yet whenever it makes profits they will be ours. I would, therefore, urge upon you that whenever you wish to purchase any article please make it a point to visit this Bazaar.

The Bombay Chronicle, 2-11-1934

269. SPEECH AT SUBJECTS COMMITTEE MEETING, A.I.C.C.

Octeober 28, 1934

Mahatma Gandhi formally moving for the acceptance of the report stated that the sub-committee met on Saturday from 2 to 9 p.m. and had prepared their report. He himself sat up till 1 a.m. and Mr. Kishorelal sat up the whole night drafting the report. After Kishorelal had drafted the report, Messrs Munshi and Bhulabhai Desai sat over it and gave the legal touches to it. The speaker said that he did not want anything to be hurried, so that they might not think of an aftermath change which would have to be incorporated into the report. The members of the sub-committee sat with the determination of bringing out a unanimous report and considered all the recommendations of the Working Committee.[1]

Mahatma Gandhi explained the changes that had been made in the constitution. It had been suggested several times that the name of the United Provinces should be changed to Hind and the name of C. P. (Hindi) as Mahakoshal. The speaker had not the courage himself to suggest the change, but since some of the members of the sub-committee suggested the change, he accepted it.

The Committee also had made a slight verbal change in Article V of the constitution. In that Article, the word "officer" had been restored. Another important clause which had been added at the suggestion of some of the members, whose point the speaker appreciated very much, was regarding no member of the Congress being a member of any communal or anti-national organization. There was some reluctance on the part of some

[1] At this stage the loudspeakers failed. Gandhiji continued after the current was restored.

of the members to introduce this clause, but the opposition was borne down and the clause was accepted.

Then, regarding the reduction in the Congress delegation, the original proposition wanted that there should be only 1,000 delegates and they themselves form the All-India Congress Committee, but it had been suggested by some of the members that the number of delegates should be 2,000, each delegate [representing] 500 Congressmen instead of 1,000 as suggested originally. The delegates from the urban constituencies shall in no case be more than 511, while the rural delegation should not be more than 1,489.

For the benefit of many minorities, it had been suggested that there should be multiple constituencies, each constituency consisting of at least five members. The election should take place under the single transferable vote system. This was an intricate subject to understand, said Gandhiji, but the system would make it physically impossible to have a constituency of less than five members.

Gandhiji explained in detail the system of the single transferable vote and multiple constituency. The idea was to make the position of the minorities secure.

Gandhiji continuing said that he would like the House to discuss it without loss of time and accept it as a whole even though the acceptance might be done reluctantly. There could be little ado or difficulty for the Committee to accept the report, which had amended the amendments. The number of delegates allotted to the provinces looked ugly, though it did not read ugly. Bombay had been given the right to send in 21 delegates. This was in recognition of the importance of the city and the part it had taken in the political fight. Including the All-India Congress Committee members today, Bombay was sending 30 delegates to the Congress and that number had been reduced to 21. This was not according to the population system. Bombay had been a veritable gold mine for developing the political conscience of the country. It was only on Bombay that this rare honour had been conferred. According to the system laid down under the constitution, Bombay would be entitled to send in only six delegates.

Continuing, Gandhiji said that the A. I. C. C. would consist of 166 members as suggested by the sub-committee instead of the present 350. This was in the proportion of one A. I. C. C. member for every twelve delegates. This would be nearly half of the present number. According to Gandhiji, it was not a bad change. The A. I. C. C. became a still more business-like and responsible body. Instead of the suggested A. I. C. C. of 1,000 members, the A. I. C. C. had been reduced to 166.

This has been done at the suggestion of many friends on the Committee who wanted that there should be an intermediary body between the Congress and the Working Committee. It has also been laid down that no person can get into the A. I. C. C. from any other province than his own. If a province does not produce

the requisite number of members on the All-India Congress Committee or of Congress delegates, then that province goes only with that number and nothing more. Each province will send at least ten delegates to the Congress.

The new changes had not been thrust on the speaker.

Then Gandhiji referred to the election of the President. He said that since Nagpur he did not like the idea, and it had been decided by the sub-committee that the President should be elected by the delegates of the provinces who would send in their recommendations to the Working Committee who, after receiving all the recommendations, would declare the President of the year. The present system of the Reception Committee electing the President was not understandable. What had the Reception Committee to do with the President of the Congress, while the delegates with whom the President had to confer and decide the future work of the Congress were imposed with a President about whose selection they had nothing to do.

This sort of anachronism ought to go and that is why the sub-committee has decided that the delegates from the provinces should elect their President. The same meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee will elect their nominees on the All-India Congress Committee. The P. C. C. will elect their quota of delegates less the number of the A. I. C. C. members who *ipso facto* become delegates also. The work of the P. C. C. will be to carry out the programme and policy laid down by the Congress.

Gandhiji also discussed the powers of the Working Committee and stated that it was for the Working Committee to carry out the policy and programme enunciated by the Congress. But it was the work of the Working Committee to interpret the decisions of the Congress. The instance of the resolution[1] on the Communal Award and the Congress attitude towards it was one of the extreme cases when the Working Committee expressed the views of the Congress. The Working Committee would be watchdog of the Congress in the country with the right of interpreting, whenever occasion arose, the decisions of the Congress. The Working Committee was not a body of dummies. It was for the All-India Congress Committee to place complete trust in the Working Committee, with amplest discriminatory powers within its jurisdiction. It was for the Working Committee to guide the policy laid down by the Congress and the A. I. C. C. Gandhiji said:

There are times when the Working Committee will have to take bold risks. Since the last many years, they have been taking risks and not an occasion had arisen when the A. I. C. C. passed a vote of no-confidence against the Working Committee.

[1] Passed at Bombay on June 17 and 18; *vide* Vol. LVIII.

No Working Committee will be worth its salt if it does not take risks.

The sub-committee has recommended that no Provincial Congress Committee shall have more than 100 members and those who have already got more will reduce themselves, while those who have less shall remain so till the next elections. It is necessary under the proposed constitutional changes that 15 signatures should be affixed, if the meeting of the A. I. C. C. has to be called while the quorum would be 25.

After explaining the fundamental changes that had been proposed in the constitution, Gandhiji asked the House to proceed with the discussion of the report.

Mahatma Gandhi submitted the following report to the Subjects Committee:

Pursuant to your yesterday's resolution, we have considered the Working Committee's recommendations for the amendment of the Congress constitution and beg to submit our draft as annexed herewith. We are happy to state that we have been able to achieve complete unanimity.

The main alterations made by us in the Working Committee's draft may be summarized as follows:

1. In Article II instead of the words "subject to the previous approval of the Working Committee" we have substituted the words, "in accordance with the rules framed by it (as Provincial Congress Committee) in that behalf and approved by the Working Committee".

2. In Article III, we have made minor alterations, such as the change in the names of the provinces U. P. and C. P. (Hindustani) —into Hind and Mahakoshal respectively and the deletion of the last clause in Cl. (c) which was superfluous.

3. In Article IV we have incorporated the labour franchise passed by the Subjects Committee with a slight verbal change so as to bring it in harmony with the khadi clause.

We have also added a new and important clause to this Article as follows:

> No person being a member of any elective Congress Committee shall be a member of any similar committee of a communal organization the object or programme of which involves political activities which are in the opinion of the Working Committee anti-national and in conflict with those of the Congress.

4. In Article V, we have changed the original scheme of delegates in the following manner:

(1) The number of delegates has been increased from 1,000 to 2,000, each representing a constituency of not less than 500 instead of 1,000 primary members.

(2) The urban area will be entitled to have not more than 511 delegates in the aggregate and the rural area not more than 1,489. No province shall have more than its proportion of delegates that would belong to it, if it was fixed on the population basis as heretofore and every province shall be entitled to not less than ten, even though the number of its primary members may be inadequate to send that number.

(3) The claims of the city of Bombay have been recognized by giving it a maximum of 21 delegates: for providing for this weightage we have been obliged to deprive the rural area of 11 delegates.

(4) Where the delegates of a province exceed 100, the Provincial Congress Committee shall consist of the All-India Congress Committee members for that province plus those elected by the delegates to bring up the total to 100. Where the delegates are less than 100, the whole will constitute the Provincial Congress Committee.

(5) The President of the Congress is to be elected by the delegates for the ensuing session in the following manner.

Soon after the election of delegates they should meet under the Chairmanship of the President of the Provincial Congress Committee and elect the President, the Chairman registering the number of votes secured by each nominee, where there is more than one, and where there is only one nominee, he will be deemed to have received as many votes as there are delegates present at the meeting. These elections will take place simultaneously on the date fixed by the Working Committee in that behalf. These results shall be posted to the Working Committee by the Provincial Congress Committee and the nominee securing the highest number of votes shall be declared President for the ensuing year. The same meeting of delegates shall elect its quota of members for the All-India Congress Committee.

(6) The number of the members of the All-India Congress Committee has been fixed at 166 as the maximum, each province having one member to every twelve delegates and every province being entitled to at least one, though it may not have twelve delegates. These members to be elected at the meeting of delegates referred to by the single transferable vote. The same meeting of delegates to elect members of Provincial Congress Committees where necessary.

Regard being had to the fact that the All-India Congress Committee has been considerably reduced, members desire to emphasize the necessity of making it clear in the constitution that the

Working Committee should not initiate new policies but should merely be the executive body carrying out the policies laid down from time to time by the All-India Congress Committee.

5. The sub-committee recommends that at least one day should be invariably given for the consideration of proposals made by private members.

6. The sub-committee recommends the deletion of the Article dealing with matters affecting communal interests.

7. During the transitory period, the Provincial Congress Committees are to elect by single transferable vote the reduced quota of members of the All-India Congress Committee, the quota for the transitory period being the full strength of 166 distributed according to the existing proportions.

8. The Provincial Congress Committees to reduce themselves to 100 where they number more than 100. These elections to take place before the 15th of January.

Mr. Mazumdar from Bengal asked if it was not a fact that members were being elected directly under the proposed constitution, while the previous constitution allowed indirect election.

Gandhiji agreed that it was so, but said that the new A. I. C. C. was not a subordinate body, it was less numerical than originally proposed by him.

Gandhiji appealed to the House not to move amendments, but make suggestions, which, if found feasible, he might accept. But if the House wanted wrangling over the report, then amendments should be moved, and the President would regulate the discussion.

Mr. Babu Purushottamdas Tandon seconded the motion.

Mr. Sampurnanand asked Gandhiji if the members of the sub-committee had freedom to vote on the question of Article I, at the open session, and Gandhiji informed him that they had.

Questioned regarding the elections in Bengal after the new constitution came into existence, Gandhiji said that the present P. C. C. would continue to function with the reduced number till the next elections.

Dr. Choithram Gidwani opposed the amendment regarding U. P. being called Hind, . . . by Hind the whole of India was meant. . . .

Sardar Sardulsingh seconded the amendment.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari supported Dr. Choithram and said that if Hind was adopted as the name of U. P., then many changes would have to be made both in songs and national cries. . . .

Mahatmaji, at this stage, stated that he accepted the suggestion because many people had complained that they had no name for U. P. at all. But seeing that there were many who were opposed to it, he would withdraw it. He was doing it without conferring with the members of the sub-committee.

On the members saying that they had no objection to calling C. P. (Hindi) Mahakoshal, Mahatmaji, amidst laughter, said:

You seem to grudge poor Jawaharlal who is inside the Naini Jail. It was he who had suggested that U. P. should be called Hind.

Sardar Sardulsingh then moved an amendment that since Bombay had been given a weightage, the Frontier Province also should be given weightage, because they were more than entitled to it.

Mahatmaji said that he was opposed to weightage, and was prepared to cancel the number allotted to Bombay.

Gandhiji, replying to the several points, said that it was unfortunate that several amendments had been moved to the report. He wanted the House to accept or reject the report as a whole, because the report was an organic whole, and could not be changed here and there.

The suggestion that the A. I. C. C. membership should remain at 350 made that body a very loose body. It was the aim of the speaker to aim at quality and not at quantity.

Referring to the amendment of Mr. Kaleswarrao, Gandhiji said that the 15th of January had been fixed for the next elections, because many of the Congressmen would be in election fever till then, and when they survived that fever they could get together and hold the elections.

Regarding the Socialists Gandhiji said that there is nothing to be fluttered about. If a certain group cannot work the constitution it was up to that group to hand over the working of the Congress in that part to the group which was creating disturbance, saying that they would surrender everything to them. There need be no suspicion of the Socialist group, continued Gandhiji. They would certainly help all because they were also out to serve the starving humanity. If the Socialists rise in power and capture it, they have a perfect right to do so.

The speaker, referring to the single transferable vote, said that there were several occasions when he had to dodge himself out of inconvenient corners and every Congressman would have to do the same. It would be difficult as far as the village workers were concerned, but if it were the speaker, he would ask the Socialists either to join him in his work and carry on shoulder to shoulder, or leave the village to that group and go to the next village.

There was some discussion over the time of the year when Congress should be held, and it was decided that it should be held some time in February or March. It was specially being held in February or March, said Gandhiji, because the villagers in their *langotis* could come and the Subjects Committee members could hug them. (Cheers)

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari moved that option should be given to the provinces regarding the appliance of the single transferable vote. Mahatmaji refused to accept the suggestion, and voted against the amendment.

Gandhiji, laughing, said that if the vote had gone against him, he was about to demand a poll. (Laughter)

The sub-committee's report was unanimously passed.

Mahatmaji thanked the Subjects Committee for unanimously approving the report. He announced that Karachi had decided to become a separate province. He also made an announcement that it would not be a surprise if members of the A. I. C. C. were asked to pay Rs. 10 each. The delegates' fee would also be Rs. 5 and not Rs. 10 as at present.

When the resolution regarding the Indian States was about to be moved, Mahatmaji stated that the problem of the Indian States was a very delicate one.

Gandhiji has prepared the following draft resolution, indicating the Working Committee's views on the Indian States peoples. Gandhiji, however, advised that this proposal be not adopted by Congress, but that a formula be evolved by a sub-committee, in consultation with States' subjects' representatives. This sub-committee's report would be placed before the next meeting of the A. I. C. C. Gandhiji's draft formula runs:

As numerous resolutions have been received from various groups for adoption by Congress, and urging it to define its policy in regard to Indian States, it is hereby resolved as follows:

Congress adheres to its policy of the internal administration of various States. Congress, however, regards the whole of geographical India as an indivisible whole, notwithstanding the fact that it is cut up into parts governed under different systems and, therefore, expresses its regret over the tendency of some Princes to regard as foreigners Indians from parts of India other than their own, and repeats its appeal, made at the previous sessions of Congress, to establish responsible government within their jurisdiction, and recognize the necessity of guaranteeing civic and political liberty of people living in their territories. This Congress assures the people residing in different States of full sympathy with their just aspirations and for fuller self-expression.

The Bombay Chronicle, 29-10-1934

270. *CONSTITUTION OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS*

[*October 28, 1934*][1]

OBJECT

ARTICLE I

The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of *poorna* swaraj (Complete Independence) by all legitimate and peaceful means.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

ARTICLE II

The Indian National Congress shall comprise:

(1) Members enrolled in primary committees under Article III,
(2) Provincial Congress Committees,
(3) Annual Session,
(4) All-India Congress Committee,
(5) Working Committee,

and may comprise (a) committees or associations directly organized by the A. I. C. C. or the Working Committee, or (b) committees organized by any Provincial Congress Committee in accordance with the rules framed by it in that behalf and approved by the Working Committee.

MEMBERSHIP

ARTICLE III

(a) Any person over the age of 18 years who believes in Article I shall, on making a written declaration to that effect and presenting an application in form A annexed hereto and on payment of four annas, be entitled to be placed on the register of Congress members kept at any office duly authorized in that behalf within the district in which he ordinarily resides or carries on business.

Provided that no person shall be a member of more than one primary committee at the same time.

[1] Gandhiji moved the resolution embodying the amended constitution at the Congress session on this date; *vide* the following item.

(b) The application shall be presented in duplicate and may be handed in personally or sent by post or messenger.

(c) It shall state the full name, age, sex, and occupation of the applicant as also the village, the taluk, the district and the province in which he ordinarily resides or carries on business.

(d) The official receiving the application, after recording on it the date of receipt, serial number and such other particulars as may be prescribed shall send one of the duplicates to the office of the Provincial Congress Committee concerned.

(e) The applicant, on being enrolled, shall receive a certificate of membership as per form B annexed hereto and printed on durable paper, either in the language and script of the province in which he resides or in the Hindustani language written in Devanagari or Urdu script.

(f) Unless otherwise directed by the Working Committee the year of the membership shall be reckoned from April 1st to March 31st and there shall be no reduction in the subscription to be paid by members joining in the middle of the year.

PROVINCES

ARTICLE IV

(a) The following shall be the provinces with the headquarters mentioned against them:

	Province	*Language*	*Headquarters*
1.	Ajmer-Merwara	Hindustani	Ajmer
2.	Andhra	Telugu	Bezwada
3.	Assam	Assamese	Gauhati
4.	Behar	Hindustani	Patna
5.	Bengal	Bengali	Calcutta
6.	Berar	Marathi	Amraoti
7.	Bombay (City)	Marathi & Gujarati	Bombay
8.	Burma	Burmese	Rangoon
9.	Central Provinces (Marathi)	[Marathi]	[Nagpur]
10.	Delhi	Hindustani	Delhi
11.	Gujarat	Gujarati	Ahmedabad
12.	Karnatak	Kannada	Dharwar
13.	Kerala	Malayalam	Calicut
14.	Mahakoshal (Central Provinces Hindustani)	Hindustani	Jubbulpore
15.	Maharashtra	Marathi	Poona
16.	N. W. F. Province	Hindustani	Peshawar

17.	Punjab	Punjabi	Lahore
18.	Sind	Sindhi	Karachi
19.	Tamil Nadu	Tamil	Madras
20.	United Provinces	Hindustani	Lucknow
21.	Utkal	Oriya	Cuttack

(b) Any Provincial Congress Committee with the previous sanction of the Working Committee shall have the power to alter its headquarters from time to time.

(c) The Working Committee may after ascertaining the wishes of the Provincial Congress Committee or Committees concerned constitute a new province, or assign to a province districts from another province as also assign an Indian State to any province.

QUALIFICATIONS

ARTICLE V

(a) No member shall be entitled to exercise his vote at any election unless he has been continuously on a Congress register for six months prior to the date of the election.

(b) No member even if he is qualified under clause (a) hereof shall be eligible for election to an office or to membership of any Congress Committee unless:

(i) he is a habitual wearer wholly of hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar;

(ii) he has performed some manual labour continuously for six months immediately before the date of nomination for election, on behalf of or for the Congress, equal in value to 500 yards per month of well-spun yarn of over ten counts, and in time to eight hours per month, the forms of acceptable labour alternative to spinning being prescribed from time to time by the Working Committee in consultation with the Provincial Congress Committees concerned and the All-India Village Industries Association or the All-India Spinners' Association;

(iii) at the time of offering himself for such election he is not a member at the same time of any other parallel committee.

(c) No person who is member of any elected Congress Committee shall be member of any similar committee of a communal organization, the object or programme of which involves political activities which are, in the opinion of the Working Committee anti-national and in conflict with those of the Congress.

ELECTION OF DELEGATES

ARTICLE VI

(a) At the end of every Annual Session the Working Committee shall fix a date and time not earlier than eight months after the date of such decision when every Provincial Congress Committee shall send to the Working Committee a certified list of members of its primary committees qualified to vote. The list must reach the office of the Working Committee on or before the said or any other extended date [or] time.

(b) Members included in the said list shall alone be entitled to vote at the election of delegates in that province.

(c) In the event of a Provincial Congress Committee failing to furnish the list in time, the province concerned may be disentitled to elect its delegates.

(d) On receipt of the aforesaid lists the Working Committee shall fix the date by which the election of delegates must be held and the quota of delegates which each province is entitled to return, and call upon the Provincial Congress Committees to proceed with the election of their respective quota.

(e) For the purposes of election the provinces referred to in Article IV hereof shall be divided into rural and urban areas.

NOTE. 'Urban area' means towns which have a population of more than ten thousand persons. 'Rural area' means area other than urban.

(f) The rural area as also every town with a population of more than 10,000 persons in a district shall each be entitled to elect one delegate for every five hundred duly qualified members on the rolls of its primary committees or for such other number as may be fixed by the Working Committee in accordance with clause (h) hereof subject to the following:

(i) The maximum number of delegates shall not exceed two thousand. Out of the said number 511 shall be the maximum for the urban area and 1,489 for the rural area.

(ii) No province shall be entitled to return a larger number of delegates than a proportion of one delegate to every 1,50,000 of the inhabitants of such province including the Indian States or agencies therein, or a fraction thereof, in accordance with the census of 1921.

PROVISO I: The maximum number of delegates sent by the urban area in each province shall not exceed 25% of the total number returnable by the province as aforesaid.

PROVISO II: Bombay (City) shall have a maximum quota of 21 delegates.

PROVISO III: Every province shall be entitled to return a minimum of 10 delegates irrespective of the strength of its primary members.

(g) (i) Where the rural area of a district has a sufficient number of duly qualified members on the rolls of its primary committees, the Provincial Congress Committee shall divide such area into suitable circles, so as to include in each circle not less than five hundred duly qualified members and each such circle shall be entitled to elect a delegate.

(ii) On a demand made in writing by 500 duly qualified members enrolled on the primary committees of one or more contiguous circles of a district, the said circles, where possible, shall be combined into a plural-member constituency of not more than five seats.

(iii) Wherever possible, a town with a population of more than 10,000 persons shall be divided into plural-member constituencies of not less than five and not more than ten seats provided the constituency can have at least 500 duly qualified members to every seat. But where the number of duly qualified members is less than 2,500, the town shall be formed into a plural-member constituency with one seat to not less than 500 members each.

(iv) Election in plural-member constituencies shall be by proportional representation by single transferable vote.

(h) If and when necessary, the Working Committee may readjust the proportion of 500 duly qualified members to one delegate and prescribe a higher figure for any urban or rural area so that the total number of urban and rural delegates in each province may be in the proportion of 1 to 3 and may not in the aggregate exceed the maximum prescribed for it under f (ii).

(i) The province which has not completed its election on or before the date appointed by the Working Committee may at the discretion of the Working Committee be disentitled to be represented at the Annual Session.

(j) A certified list of delegates shall be submitted by the Provincial Congress Committees not later than the date fixed by the Working Committee in that behalf.

(k) Every delegate so elected shall, on payment of a fee of Rs. 5 at the office of the Provincial Congress Committee of his province, receive a certificate in accordance with Form C hereto annexed, duly signed by one of its secretaries. No delegate shall be entitled to exercise any of his functions or powers without such certificate.

ELECTION BY THE DELEGATES

ARTICLE VII

(a) On receipt by the Working Committee of the lists of delegates it shall fix a date on which the delegates in every province shall assemble in a meeting to transact the following business:

(i) to propose the candidate or candidates for the Presidentship of the Congress for the ensuing year and to record the vote of each of the delegates asssembled on the proposals;

(ii) to elect from among themselves one-twelfth of their number as representatives of the province on the All-India Congress Committee;

(iii) in case the number of delegates for the province exceeds 100, to elect from among themselves a number of members which together with the members of the All-India Congress Committee elected under clause (ii) would amount to 100 to constitute the Provincial Congress Committee of the province.

(b) The elections in sub-clauses (ii) and (iii) of clause (a) shall be by proportional representation by single transferable vote.

(c) The Secretaries of the respective Provincial Congress Committees shall issue certificates of membership of the All-India Congress Committee to the persons elected on it.

PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEES

ARTICLE VIII

(a) The delegates elected from a province under Article VI, or where the number of delegates is more than 100, one hundred delegates elected under Article VII(a) (iii), as the case may be, and the President and the ex-Presidents of the Congress, provided they are duly qualified under Articles III and V, shall form its Provincial Congress Committee.

(b) Every Provincial Congress Committee shall:

(i) subject to the general control and supervision of the A. I. C. C., be in charge of the affairs of the Congress within its own province and to that end frame rules not inconsistent with this constitution, which rules shall come into operation only with the previous sanction of the Working Committee;

(ii) submit an annual report of the work in the province to the Working Committee not later than one month before the commencement of the Annual Session;

(iii) before the new A. I. C. C. meets as Subjects Committee under Article IX(g), pay to the Working Committee the fees received from the delegates, as also such subscription as may be fixed by the latter, having regard to the population, membership and financial capacity of the province. Delegates and members of the A. I. C. C. from provinces in default shall not be permitted to take part in any of the proceedings of the Congress or any committee thereof.

ANNUAL SESSION

ARTICLE IX

(a) The Annual Session shall be ordinarily held during the month of February or March. The said Session shall be held at the place decided upon at the preceding Session or such other place as may be determined by the Working Committee.

(b) The Annual Session shall consist of:

(i) the President of the Congress;

(ii) the ex-Presidents of the Congress, provided they are duly qualified under Articles III and V;

(iii) the delegates elected under Article VI.

(c) The Provincial Congress Committee concerned shall make such arrangements for holding the Annual Session as may be deemed necessary, and for this purpose shall form a Reception Committee, and may include therein persons who are not its members.

(d) The Reception Committee shall collect funds for the expenses of the Session, make all necessary arrangements for the reception and accommodation of delegates and visitors and for the printing of the report of the proceedings of the Session.

(e) The Reception Committee shall elect its Chairman and other office-bearers from amongst its own members.

(f) (i) As soon as may be, after the receipt of the report by the Working Committee of the names of Presidents proposed by the delegates of various provinces and the number of votes recorded in favour of each, the Working Committee shall announce as President-elect the name of the member obtaining the largest number of votes.

(ii) In the event of an emergency arising by reason of any cause, such as the death or resignation of the President elected in this manner, the Working Committee shall, not later than a fortnight after the emergency, elect as President the person standing next in order.

(g) The new A. I. C. C. shall meet as Subjects Committee at least two days before the Annual Session under the presidentship of the President-elect. The outgoing Working Committee shall submit to it the draft programme of the work for the Session including resolutions recommended by the different Provincial Congress Committees.

(h) The Subjects Committee shall proceed to discuss the programme and shall frame resolutions for being moved in the open Session. At least one day shall be allotted for the consideration of propositions of which due notice has been given by Provincial Congress Committees or members of the A. I. C. C. other than those of the Working Committee in accordance with the rules prescribed in that behalf.

(i) At each sitting of the Congress, the order in which business shall be transacted shall be as follows:

(i) The resolution recommended for adoption by the Subjects Committee.

(ii) Any substantive motion not included in (i) and which 25 delegates request the President in writing, before the commencement of the day's sitting, to be allowed to place before the Congress; provided, however, that no such motion shall be allowed unless it has been previously discussed at a meeting of the Subjects Committee and has received the support of at least a third of the members then present.

(j) The receipts and disbursements of the Reception Committee shall be audited by an auditor or auditors appointed by the Provincial Congress Committee concerned, and the statement of accounts together with the auditor's report shall be submitted by the Provincial Congress Committee to the Working Committee not later than three months after the termination of the Annual Session.

SPECIAL SESSION

ARTICLE X

(a) The Working Committee may upon its own motion, or shall upon a joint requisition addressed to it, as provided in Article XI (e), convene a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee for considering a resolution for holding a Special Session. Such resolution shall be effective if passed by two-thirds majority of the members present. Thereupon the Working Committee shall summon a Special Session of the Congress at such time and place as it shall determine and the Articles of the constitution shall apply with such modification as the Working Committee may consider

necessary, provided that the delegates of the preceding session shall be the delegates for such Special Session.

(b) The President of a Special Session shall be elected by the delegates.

ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

ARTICLE XI

(a) The President of the Annual Session, members of the A. I. C. C. elected under Article VII (ii) and the ex-Presidents referred to in Article IX(b) (ii) shall constitute the A. I. C. C.

(b) The A. I. C. C. shall carry out the programme of work laid down by the Congress from session to session and deal with all new matters that may arise during its term of office.

(c) The A. I. C. C. shall have the power to frame rules, not inconsistent with this constitution, for regulating all matters connected with the Congress.

(d) The President of the Annual Session shall be the Chairman of the A. I. C. C.

(e) The A. I. C. C. shall meet as often as required by the Working Committee, or on a joint requisition addressed to the Working Committee by not less than fifteen members. Such requisition shall specify the purpose for which the requisitionists desire a meeting of the A. I. C. C. At such meeting additional items of business may be brought up for consideration, provided due notice thereof has been given to the members.

(f) Twenty-five or one-third of the total number of members, whichever is less, shall form the quorum.

(g) The A. I. C. C. shall hold office till the meeting of the new A. I. C. C. as Subjects Committee immediately before the next Annual Session.

(h) The A. I. C. C. shall, at its first meeting every year, nominate a panel of twelve members to enquire into and decide all election disputes coming before it. Each party to the dispute shall nominate one out of this panel to represent itself and the President shall appoint an umpire from the panel.

(i) The A. I. C. C. may from time to time affiliate to the Congress such organizations as it may deem necessary, provided such organizations are calculated to further or assist the object of the Congress.

(j) Every member of the All-India Congress Committee, *ex-officio* or elected, shall pay an annual subscription of Rs. 10 payable at or before the first meeting of the All-India Congress Committee. Members in default will not be permitted to take

part in any meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, the Subjects Committee or in any Session.

THE WORKING COMMITTEE

ARTICLE XII

(a) The President of the Annual Session shall for his term of office select fourteen members from among the members of the A. I. C. C. to constitute his Working Committee including not more than three General Secretaries and not more than two Treasurers of the Congress.

(b) The Working Committee shall be the executive authority and as such shall have the power to carry into effect the policy and programme laid down by the A. I. C. C. and the Congress, and shall remain responsible thereto.

(c) The Working Committee shall place before every meeting of the A. I. C. C. the reports of its proceedings and the agenda of the meeting, and shall assign at least one clear day for resolutions of which due notice may have been given by the members of the A. I. C. C. other than those of the Working Committee in accordance with the rules prescribed in that behalf.

(d) The Working Committee shall appoint one or more inspectors to examine the records, papers and account-books of all Congress organizations, which shall furnish all information and give to the inspectors access to all offices and records.

(e) The Working Committee shall have the power:

(i) to frame rules and issue instructions for the proper working of the constitution and in all matters not otherwise provided for;

(ii) to superintend, direct and control all Congress Committees subject to review by the A. I. C. C.;

(iii) to take such disciplinary action as it may deem fit against a committee or individual for misconduct, wilful neglect or default.

(f) The Working Committee shall pay to the Provincial Congress Committee convening the Annual Session one-fifth of the fees recovered from the delegates within a fortnight of its termination.

(g) The Working Committee shall take steps to have a regular audit of the accounts of the Provincial Congress Committees.

FUNDS

ARTICLE XIII

The Treasurers shall be in charge of the funds of the Congress and shall keep proper accounts of all investments, income and expenditure.

GENERAL SECRETARIES

ARTICLE XIV

(a) The General Secretaries shall be in charge of the office of the A. I. C. C. and the Working Committee.

(b) The General Secretaries shall be responsible for the publication of the report of the proceedings of the Annual or Special Session in co-operation with the Provincial Committee concerned. Such report shall be published as soon as possible and not later than four months after the Session.

(c) The General Secretaries shall prepare the report of the work of the A. I. C. C. and the Working Committee during their period of office and submit it, with a full account of the funds which may have come into their hands, to the meeting of the A. I. C. C. immediately before the Annual Session.

VACANCIES

ARTICLE XV

The office of a delegate or a member of the A. I. C. C. or a Provincial Congress Committee shall be vacated by resignation, death or prolonged absence from India and such vacancy shall be filled by the Provincial Congress Committee concerned in the same manner in which the vacating member was chosen. A vacancy on the Working Committee shall be filled by the President.

FRACTIONS

ARTICLE XVI

Where there is a question of considering the value of fractions, a fraction of ½ or more shall be treated as one, and less than ½ as zero.

LANGUAGE

ARTICLE XVII

(a) The proceedings of the Congress, the All-India Congress Committee and the Working Committee shall ordinarily be conducted in Hindustani; the English language or any provincial language may be used if the speaker is unable to speak in Hindustani or whenever permitted by the President.

(b) The proceedings of the Provincial Congress Committees shall ordinarily be conducted in the language of the province concerned. Hindustani may also be used.

TRANSITORY PROVISIONS

ARTICLE XVIII

(a) On these amendments to the Constitution coming into force the A. I. C. C. shall consist of not more than 166 members apportioned as stated in the Appendix.

(b) The members of the Provincial Congress Committees which are functioning or are about to function shall, from among themselves, elect by single transferable vote the members of the A. I. C. C. mentioned in clause (a).

(c) Where a Provincial Congress Committee at present consists of more than 100 members, the sitting members of such committee shall elect from among themselves by single transferable vote 100 members including the A. I. C. C. members to constitute the new Provincial Congress Committee under the constitution.

(d) The Provincial Congress Committee reconstituted under clause (c) shall elect its office-bearers.

(e) The votes at the elections under clauses (b) and (c) may be recorded either at a meeting held for the purpose or on ballot papers sent by post.

(f) All such elections shall be held and a report thereon submitted to the Working Committee on or before the 15th of January 1935.

(g) Every Provincial Congress Committee shall, bcfore the 28th of February 1935, submit for the approval of the Working Committee a report on the affairs of its province and a draft constitution for the same not inconsistent with this constitution and the rules made thereunder.

(h) The Provincial constitutions shall come into operation on their being approved by the Working Committee.

(i) No Provincial Congress Committee and no subordinate Committee shall be recognized by the Working Committee unless it has complied with the conditions laid down in this constitution or any rules framed thereunder by the Working Committee.

(j) On failure on the part of any Provincial Congress Committee to function in terms of the constitution, the Working Committee may form one to carry on Congress work in that province.

(k) Notwithstanding Articles III and V (a) and (b) (ii), a person otherwise duly qualified shall be eligible for election to an office or to membership of a committee prior to 1st July 1935.

(l) Notwithstanding the provisions relating to the election of the President by the delegates under this constitution, the President of the 48th Session of the Congress, viz, Sjt. Rajendra Prasad, shall continue to hold office as if he was elected hereunder.

(m) The President of the 48th Session of the Congress shall nominate fourteen members of the Working Committee including three General Secretaries and not more than two Treasurers from the members of the present A. I. C. C.

(n) The Working Committee may make such transitory regulations not inconsistent with the foregoing to meet any situation that may arise in the transitional period.

Report of the 48th Annual Session of the Indian National Congress, 1934

271. SPEECH AT CONGRESS SESSION, BOMBAY[1]

October 28, 1934

MR. PRESIDENT, SISTERS AND BROTHERS,

First and foremost, I crave pardon from all sisters and brothers that copies of the resolution proposing changes in the present constitution have not reached you. In spite of the trouble the Reception Committee had taken, there was so much to do that it seemed near impossible to get it done in three days; but they had resolved to complete the work within three days. Today the Subjects Committee also sat for long and therefore copies of this resolution could not be printed. There is much to amend but it is a matter for the legal pundits. I shall explain to you in a few minutes the amendments that have been accepted. We could have asked you to come again tomorrow evening for this same purpose; that means the Reception Committee would have had to spend so much money unnecessarily and your time and money would be wasted. It has never been my intention to have my resolution passed by unfair means by not letting you see it.

You are already acquainted with the present constitution. Experience has shown that 6,000 delegates were an unwieldy number. At the Nagpur Congress there were 14,000 delegates but they were not elected by any constituencies and represented mostly themselves. Now it is proposed to reduce the number of delegates to 2,000. I wanted only 1,000 delegates but yielded to the opposition and accepted 2,000. I wanted the delegates to agree to this sacrifice in number in the cause of freedom.

There is at present no direct contact between the Congress delegates and electors. This change in the constitution will not get us swaraj but will help the Congress to stand as a rival to the

[1] Gandhiji first spoke in Hindi at the 48th session of the Indian National Congress, presided over by Rajendra Prasad

Assembly in showing that the Congress delegates also speak for their electorate. Hereafter, Congress inspectors will look into the registers and only such Congressmen will be allowed to vote as have been on its rolls for at least six months. Unless there are 500 Congressmen, they will not be entitled to elect a delegate to the Congress. This is too poor, compared to the Assembly where 8,000 voters elect one member, but I am satisfied with such a beginning for the organization representing poor people. As swaraj cannot be attained without roping villages into the Congress scheme, it has been provided that $\frac{3}{4}$ of Congress shall represent rural areas, i.e., places with a population of 10,000 and under.

Representation will be by single transferable vote and there will be plural constituencies. As for the A. I. C. C., it is always difficult to call 350 members who cannot afford the expense of frequent meetings. Thus the A. I. C. C. has been reduced to the maximum of 166. Then again, no democrat would like that the Congress President should be elected by the Reception Committee on recommendations of Provincial Congress Committees but hereafter the delegates themselves will elect the President.

Gandhiji then explained the khadi clause and the spinning franchise and said:

I do not mind if you reject these, but if you adopt them, you should do so with absolute conviction. Please vote not out of regard for me but in the interest of the motherland.

When I read the newspaper and the public comments on my proposals, I gave up the idea of publishing them for general consideration. But members of the Working Committee thought it fit to put them before you. I have listened to the opinions of others on the scheme for change. They have presented their case very ably. But they were either deceiving themselves or they were playing the role of an attorney. And they claimed that they had climbed down from idealism to practicality. But has socialism no ideals? If I told them to give up even a single one of their ideals, they would defeat my resolution. Do you ever realize that *purna* swaraj may come only in the next generation? The socialist ideal is higher than even this. I say we need a measuring rod.

Please [do not] think over this matter with the hope that on this resolution having passed, I may reconsider my retirement. If I began my leadership of the Congress with a constitution for which I am mainly responsible, then, while taking my leave, I wish to present you this amended constitution so

that you can gain by the experience of one who tried in collaboration with you to work this constitution and found some defects in it. Therefore I wish you should carry these amendments.

One more thing is that the delegates should be sincere and truly representative of the people. Indirectly we are the representatives of the mute millions. We voice their views. From 1886 this has been the position of the Congress. But we represent the electorate only indirectly. Can any one of us say whose representative he is? Is he in contact with his own constituency and does he reflect their views? Can the biggest among us say what place he represents? Vallabhbhai is the uncrowned king of Gujarat but which constituency does he represent? Whom do I represent? I myself do not know it. I challenge everyone to submit the Congress register of his electorate. We must have a living contact with our constituency and with our voters; only then can we have our measuring rod.

The principle that I am putting before you is that the three elections should all be held simultaneously. This will be economically feasible and save some expenditure. If you accept this principle its future will be unshakable. Then the delegates will be chosen by their electorates. Then they would not, like today, gather for three days only to disappear later. They would be active members of the Congress working all through the year. Today, out of 6,350 delegates only 350 are members of the All-India Congress Committee.

Then, in Madras or Bardoli a Congress session of a hundred delegates can be called. I have made a detailed scheme for organizing such village sessions. The villagers will be at your beck and call but they will not be able to give you money for the Reception Committee. I object to lakhs of rupees being spent on buntings and arches and other fanfare by Reception Committees. Have we attained victory? Some friends even said that this subject should be transferred to the provinces. Why do you want to transfer this to the provinces? Why do you avoid doing your duty? Do not swerve from the path of your duty. I assure you that all your criticism has been duly considered. I am giving you a very complex and strict constitution from which no one can stray. If you find any fault in it, you may drop it. I wish you accept my advice. I wish to say that if you leave this matter to the provinces, you will be wasting one precious year of the nation's life.

The procedure adopted in electing members of the Working Committee has been made part of the Congress constitution.

The constitution has been so framed that there would be no difficulty in the election of the President. If you want us to carry on the work, let us have the rights we demand.

In the end, Gandhiji appealed to the representatives to adopt the new constitution with the determination to make it a signal success. (Cheers)

Continuing in English, Gandhiji said:

I am now speaking in English, trying to produce the same sentiment which I conveyed in the national language. It is difficult to do that, because you cannot pour your soul twice in two different languages. The soul speaks with the deepest emotion and its sound comes out of the deepest recesses. You don't want to examine the speaker for his ability to make a speech. You want to do national work with him. I simply want to say this that you will kindly forgive me for not giving you as full an explanation of the constitution as is required. The resolution is of a far-reaching character. It calls upon the Congress to repeat the history of self-denial and further reduce the size of the delegates and the A. I. C. C.

In conclusion, I would appeal to the delegates to adopt the new constitution with the desire to make it a glorious success.[1] (Applause)

Report of the 48th Annual Session of the Indian National Congress, 1934, pp. 118-25

272. MESSAGE TO THE NATION[2]

October 28, 1934

I am entirely satisfied with the result of the session.

The Bombay Chronicle, 29-10-1934

[1] K. M. Munshi seconded the resolution, which was passed by a large majority.

[2] This was given in an exclusive interview to the Associated Press on Sunday night.

273. *STATEMENT TO THE PRESS*

BOMBAY,
October 29, 1934

If Congressmen have understood the spirit underlying my retirement from the Congress, it ought to mean the redoubling of honest and persistent effort to return Congress candidates to the Assembly. I have retired not to weaken the national organization, but to strengthen it. I have seen notices from adverse parties which, under the guise of praising me, suggest that I leave the Congress in disgust. This is absolutely untrue. I entertain the highest regard for the Congress. When we achieve our goal, as we will and must, the Congress will be found to have contributed the largest share in the attainment. There is, thus, in the present fight, a battle between measures, not men. Every vote given to a Congress candidate means so much progress towards our goal. An institution that has just passed a self-denying ordinance in the shape of the new rigorous constitution, in my opinion, deserves universal support. That can just now be best expressed by sending as many Congressmen as possible to the Assembly.

The Hindu, 29-10-1934

274. *STATEMENT ON SILK YARN*

October 29, 1934

I have seen a newspaper paragraph attributing to me the opinion that silk yarn is drawn from some "imported stuff" and that therefore I consider it to be not fit for use. I have never expressed any such opinion. The A. I. S. A. has been for a long time certifying indigenous silk. The policy is now being revised in the interest of khadi made from cotton yarn.

The Bombay Chronicle, 30-10-1934

275. *LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI*

October 29, 1934

DEAR ANAND,

I know you are now getting on all right. It is a good idea to come to Wardha when you are discharged.[1]

Love.

BAPU

From a microfilm. Courtesy: National Archives of India and Anand T. Hingorani

276. *LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA*

October 29, 1934

CHI. SHARMA,

I could not reply to your letter till now.

There is nothing wrong in using mill flour.

It is your duty to accept a coverlet from someone.[2]

You must take ghee; or butter, if that suits you.

Since we are related as patient and doctor you ought to point out my faults.

The permit for Ramdas[3] has not been received so far.

You can come whenever you wish. Never let your health suffer.

Take whatever money needed.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha*, facing p. 111

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Anand T. Hingorani", p. 186.

[2] The addressee had lost a shawl and was doing without it.

[3] To proceed to South Africa

277. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

October 30, 1934

I received during my silence in Bombay several queries from Pressmen, but I had no time to give written replies then. Visitors continued to pour in for whom I had to scribble out replies practically till the time of my leaving the camp. Now I answer these and some others that have cropped up since.

The first is whether I have already tendered my resignation. Formally, I had not done so till October 28, but it is presently going, in the form of a letter addressed to Rajendrababu and other officials concerned.[1] This does not mean that I cease to take interest in the politics of the country or in its political future. Much less does it mean that I cease to take interest in the welfare of the organization for whose good I have left it. But, what will happen is that I shall cease to be interested in the details of the working of the Congress. And I shall certainly cease to shape the policy of the Congress organization as I had the privilege of doing till the last moment of the session.

Let me give one or two illustrations. Whilst I was observing silence yesterday, Rajendrababu and several members of the Working Committee came to discuss with me the composition of the new Working Committee. Hardly had we proceeded to discuss one or two names when I saw the utter incongruity of what I was doing. I, therefore, immediately wrote out on my scribbling pad, "Surely, I may not discuss these things now." Members present immediately realized the significance of my remark and they very generously removed themselves some distance from me and began to discuss them in whispers and I may state that, up to the time of dictating this at Wardha, I am unaware of the composition of the new Working Committee. I was taking a lively interest, even up to the time of my departure, in the unfortunate Ajmer dispute.[2] But Congressmen may understand from these two illustrations that I can no longer be looked up to for advice or guidance in such matters. If I continue to interest myself in the day-to-day working of the organization or in the

[1] *Vide* pp. 269 and 270.
[2] *Vide* Vol. LVIII.

domestic quarrels, not only would the whole of the salutary effect of my retirement be undone, but I would become a powerful factor for disturbance, not having the grasp of details which alone has hitherto been a predominant factor in enabling me to come to correct judgment in a vast majority of cases.

My interest in the Congress organization will, henceforth, be confined to watching, from at a distance, the enforcement of principles for which the Congress stands. Congressmen may therefore expect, whenever I feel like giving it, a criticism of methods that may be pursued by the organization as a whole or its members as individuals. But this again does not mean that I should be receiving letters as I have hitherto received asking me for guidance in daily transactions in connection with the Congress. This they must henceforth seek from the President whose guidance will, I know, be invaluable or from those in whom they have confidence. I must be left free for the work which I have in mind.

Let it be borne in mind that I do not regard politics as something different in kind from other national activities. The root meaning of politics is the science of citizenship and it has also remote connection with polished manners and since the boundaries of citizenship have been extended to cover continents, the science of politics includes attainment of advancement of humanity along all lines, social, moral, economic and political, using the word 'political' here in the narrow sense in which we are accustomed to use it. Ever since my return to India in 1915, it has been my earnest endeavour to restore the meaning of politics to its root and if we would be truthful through and through, we should recognize that the predominant part of the Congress programme has been progressively social, moral and economic. And it becomes a powerful programme because it is intimately connected with the political, that is, the attainment of freedom of the country from foreign yoke, not from foreign friendship, that is, voluntary intercourse on terms of absolute equality with foreign nations. If Congressmen forget the constructive programme and simply confine Congress activities to winning of Assembly and Council elections and of fruitless debates in the Assembly and the Councils, they will soon find that I have taken with me the kernel of politics and they have kept for themselves only the outermost husk, without even the vitamins. But I have no such fear. Parliamentary Congressmen will advance the Congress programmes and by their votes register the will of the nation.

This session of the Congress has been a revelation to me. I had expected a battle royal with the members of the Working Committee about the vital amendments I had suggested and afterwards withdrawn, and equally vital alterations in the constitution on which I was insistent, but which had no connection whatsoever with my retirement from the Congress. But I found that, apart from my retirement, which they had ascertained was a moral certainty, members of the Working Committee wanted the amendments after their own fashion. Every one of them without exception had come to the conclusion that substitution of the words "legitimate and peaceful" by "truthful and non-violent" was necessary, because of the ambiguity surrounding the two words. I could not prevent them from enforcing their own independent judgment.

The same revelations awaited me in the Subjects Committee. The alteration of the creed was not carried, but it was not summarily rejected. It was referred to Provincial Congress Committees for opinion. And now that I am out of the way and provinces are in a position to exercise their judgment freely and unfettered, I do hope that in order to be true to themselves and the Congress, their first act will be to pronounce their unequivocal opinion on the proposed amendments. The ambiguity is patent. Many have contested my proposition that "truthful and non-violent" are synonymous with "legitimate and peaceful". If the Congress do not attach that meaning to the two words, they should unhesitatingly recommend their removal altogether. In adopting this recommendation they will not travel outside the terms of reference. Our creed is the measure by which we want mankind to judge us. There should surely be no uncertainty about our measure. What we insist upon in ordinary affairs of life is surely necessary in national affairs. Even as a mason without his square or a tailor without his yard-stick is inconceivable, so also we cannot conceive of a big organization like the Congress without its measure. If we have any doubt about the necessity for downright truthfulness and downright non-violence for the attainment of complete independence, we should say so. There will be nothing wrong in it. That would not mean that we have abandoned truth or non-violence. It would mean that we have ceased to connect truthfulness and non-violence with independence, have ceased to see the one as the cause and the other as its inevitable result, have ceased to think that there is an indissoluble bond between the means and the end.

If there was difficulty about carrying the amendment to the creed, it was plain sailing with reference to other amendments, both in the Subjects Committee and in the open session. What I observed to my delight was also the fact that those who wanted to oppose any of the amendments did so without any hesitation and yet in courteous terms. Obedience was ungrudgingly tendered to the chair at all times, whereas I was prepared for boisterous scenes. And all the amendments were passed although members knew that I was not remaining in the Congress.

The manner in which the 1,500 delegates assembled here waived their undoubted right of having copies of the amended draft constitution was an exhibition of generosity and faith of which any nation would be proud. And yet all amendments were passed by the delegates with overwhelming majorities after they had understood what they were and what were their implications. For they listened for over an hour to my simple unvarnished explanation of all amendments. The cheers that punctuated my remarks on some of the most important amendments showed that they were following my exposition with the utmost attention. All this was possible because of perfect loud-speaker arrangements that were made as well for the Subjects Committee as for the open session.

Now that the new constitution is an established fact, the Provincial Congress Committees should realize the necessity for honestly working it. Although time has been given to them up to January 15 for holding A. I. C. C. elections and for reducing themselves to 100, where they are over 100, wherever it is possible they should at once do these two things.

Let me also utter a warning. I hope no one will think that the khaddar clause and labour franchise clause do not come into immediate operation. They do. Those who do not believe in them, those who do not want to wear khaddar as a habit, to the exclusion of all other cloth, or do not want to do some manual labour for the sake of the country, will, if they are members of any elected organization, at once tender their resignations. And Provincial Congress Committees will not elect as members of the Committees or of A. I. C. C. those who are not habitual wearers of khaddar or who do not want to do manual labour. Spinning is undoubtedly the most natural and the easiest form of labour and is connected with the khaddar clause. But those who do not believe in spinning can certainly take up any other kind of manual labour. Tailoring is quite easy, whether with the needle or with the sewing-machine. Sewing four caps

would be equivalent to more than 500 yards of evenly spun yarn. A day's cleaning of a neighbouring village would undoubtedly be such an equivalent. So would be house-to-house personal distribution for one day of, say, quinine powder or pills in malarial tracts. What is meant by this clause to be symbolical may, in the end, result in many Congressmen becoming experts in the labour they perform and make phenomenal contribution to the economic advancement of the nation. This is all civil resistance of the purest type. I plead guilty of negligence in that I had not in the past insisted on these things so as to make them a condition precedent to launching out any civil disobedience. I had been overborne by the argument that the nation would take up these things in the course of civil disobedience.

That expectation has not been realized. My retirement from the Congress may be regarded as a penance for the negligence although it was wholly unconscious. But calling myself, as I do, an expert in the science of civil resistance, I may not plead ignorance as excuse. I hope, therefore, the vital clauses of the constitution will be immediately put into operation. What I am aiming at is development of capacity for civil resistance so that there never may be any need for civil disobedience. Disobedience that is wholly civil should never provoke retaliation.

The Hindu, 31-10-1934

278. LETTER TO DR. B. C. ROY

October 30, 1934

DEAR DR. BIDHAN,

I have a bad cold. Therefore, instead of writing this letter, I am driven to dictating. You have let me feel that I must think you as one of my intimate co-workers to whom I could speak and write without reserve. You have even resented my reserve when you have detected it. I am taking the liberty of writing this letter without reserve.

I allowed myself to be party to a discussion over the names of the new Working Committee. Rajendrababu and other members came to me during my silence and opened the discussion. We had come to two names. I had suggested one name as a substitute for Jawaharlal whilst he was in prison, and when we came to discuss the Bengal representative, I gave my opinion. But I saw that I was doing violence to my pledge that I shall

cease to be a member of the Congress after the session. I did not, therefore, attend the meeting of the A. I. C. C. that day nor of the Working Committee. I, therefore, abruptly stopped the discussion and wrote on the scribbling-pad: "Surely I may not discuss these things now." Of course, further discussion was carried on by the members without my listening to it.

The difficulty that they had was to choose as a Bengal representative either you or Prafulla Ghosh. I wrote saying that Maulana Saheb[1] alone should be given the Bengal representation, and that neither you nor Prafulla Ghosh should be in it. I wrote further that if anybody had to be elected, besides the Maulana, it must be you. It was impossible to overlook you without slighting the present Provincial Congress Committee unless you yourself chose to stand aside. It was at this stage that I discovered my error and abruptly stopped taking part in the discussion. But without any compunction, having gone as far as I did, I can write to you that I feel that the act of self-denial which I have recommended would be the best thing for Bengal politics. You know how I have three times suppressed Rajagopalachari or, rather, how Rajagopalachari has allowed himself to be suppressed. I do not think that the country has lost by that suppression. Rajagopalachari has certainly gained, and if today he is most useful in the parliamentary struggle in the South, I have no doubt that it is due to this self-denial.

But, of course, I may be wholly wrong in my judgment in this case. I felt that I would be untrue to you if I did not pass on the opinion that I formed yesterday, but which I could not express as fully as I have done here. If this letter is not helpful, you will please dismiss it from your mind altogether. But I hope that in no case would you consider it to be an impertinent interference. The fact is that, so far as I am concerned, we have been coming closer day by day. The association with you in Calcutta during my recent visit[2] brought you closer to me. Your help during the strenuous time last week I appreciated very deeply, and I have not hesitated to say so to many friends. Whatever decision you take, I shall be fully satisfied if this letter does not interfere with the growth of that co-operation. I am desperately anxious for Bengal to have a

[1] Abul Kalam Azad

[2] In July, 1934

homogeneous, closely-knit Congress Party without internal divisions.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

A. I. C. C. File No. 628, 1936. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

279. *NOTE TO RAJENDRA PRASAD*

[October 30, 1934][2]

I have received a letter from Dr. Bidhan, as also a copy of the one addressed to you. Hence I send you a copy of my reply to him.

BAPU

[From Hindi]

A. I. C. C. File No. G-30, 1933. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

280. *LETTER TO SECRETARY, GUJARAT PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE*

October 30, 1934

To
THE SECRETARY
[PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE
AHMEDABAD]
SIR,

The crediting of yarn in my name for membership of the Congress may please be discontinued henceforth. My name may also be removed from the register of Congress members in the books of the All-India Spinners' Association.

Yours,
MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

[1] A copy of the letter was sent to Rajendra Prasad; *vide* the following item.

[2] This was written on a copy of the letter to Dr. B. C. Roy dated October 30, 1934; *vide* the preceding item.

In accordance with the decision which I have announced I request you by this postcard to remove my name from your register.

Yours,

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

281. LETTER TO RAJENDRA PRASAD

October 30, 1934

BHAI RAJENDRABABU,

In accordance with my decision I hereby dissociate myself from the All-India Congress Committee. My name may please be removed from the list in the office of the Committee.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

SHRI RAJENDRA PRASAD
PRESIDENT, [INDIAN] NATIONAL CONGRESS
C/O BIRLA MILLS, DELHI

[From Hindi]

A.I.C.C. File No. 463, 1934. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

282. LETTER TO P. KODANDARAMIAH

October 31, 1934

MY DEAR KODANDARAMIAH,

I have your letter. I have pre-mortgaged my time for things which I may not put off. Therefore I can make no promise nor hold out any hope. I do not know what the future has in store for me. If I can see my way clear for some months to come I would love to undertake the travel you have suggested. Meanwhile if you have approached this subject as an earnest seeker, give me a vivid description of the six backward tribes. It must be readable, brief and worth publishing in the columns of *Harijan*. You must give me also a little more introduction to yourself. Who are you? What are you doing? What is Swaraj

Ashram? What is your contribution to the cause of the aborigines?

Yours sincerely,

SHRI P. KODANDARAMIAH
SWARAJ ASHRAM
POLLAVARAM *via* KOVVUR, M. S. M. RLY.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

283. *LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI*

October 31, 1934

BHAISHRI MUNSHI,

Jamnalalji will give you the [draft of the] constitution. I have gone through it carefully. The changes which I have suggested should not be difficult to understand. But if I have misunderstood the meaning anywhere, delay of a day or two will not matter. If you write to me in detail, I will try to see my mistake. The copy sent by you did not include the forms. It would be good if the appendix also gives, in addition to [the list of] members of the All-India Congress Committee, the maximum number of members which each province can send. If this cannot be done, however, the printing need not be delayed on that account. The Secretary also can announce these figures.

Let Jairamdas and Kishorelal, if he is all right, go through the changes. I hope they will find no difficulty in deciphering my handwriting. Tell Jairamdas that he should issue some of the notices which have to be issued immediately. Please examine A, F(a) and such other things.

How shall I compliment you on your immense labour?

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 7558. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

284. LETTER TO SURENDRA

October 31, 1934

CHI. SURENDRA,

Sharma's problem is a difficult one. Hold him back as long as your influence on him works. See that he doesn't starve or remain unprotected against the cold. His view of people is generally perverted. He regards as good those about whom we are doubtful and as bad those whom we think to be good. This is a difficult disease to cure. How can we help if people misunderstand one another? But I will not give up hope. My diagnosis is that he is deceiving himself and not the world. I see no evil in him but a transparent frankness. However, he is by nature proud and has too much confidence in his ability to judge people. If those who enjoy his trust can open his eyes, he is capable of rendering very useful service. . . .[1]

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

285. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

October 31, 1934

CHI. SHARMA,

I have your letter. I am not tired and I feel no despair. You will stay in the Ashram itself when you come. Vinoba is also agreeable. On your assurance I shall be free of anxiety. You may take it that I shall not worry if you do not strain yourself.

For my part, I want to rope in Draupadi too but that can be done only when you are settled. Your shawl is not to be found. Possibly the boy who was staying here took it away. He is no longer here. But it is not wise to suffer the cold without the shawl.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha*, between pp. 112 and 113

[1] Omission as in the source

286. LETTER TO DIETRICH BONHOEFFER

November 1, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. If you and your friend have enough money for return passage and can pay your expenses here, say, at the rate of Rs. 100 per month each, you can come whenever you like. The sooner the better so as to get the benefit of such cold weather as we get here. The Rs. 100 per month I have calculated as the outside limit for those who can live simply. It may cost you even half the amount. It all depends upon how the climate here agrees with you.

With reference to your desire to share my daily life, I may say that you will be staying with me if I am out of prison and settled in one place when you come. But otherwise, if I am travelling or if I am in prison, you will have to be satisfied with remaining in or near one of the institutions that are being conducted under my supervision. If you can stay in any of the institutions I have in mind and if you can live on the simple vegetarian food that these institutions can supply you, you will have nothing to pay for your boarding and lodging.

Yours sincerely,

PASTOR LIC. DIETRICH BONHOEFFER, ESQ.
23 MANOR MOUNT, S. E. 23, LONDON

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

287. LETTER TO DAHYABHAI M. PATEL

November 1, 1934

BHAISHRI DAHYABHAI,

Pujya Bapuji got your letter of the 29th. He asks me to tell you in reply that he cannot think of anything special for you. He feels that you should remain where you are and do what work you can. If you are content with constructive work and go on doing it, you will one day find through it a co-worker with ideals similar to yours.

Yours,
SWAMI ANAND[1]

SJT. DAHYABHAI MANORBHAI PATEL
DHOLKA

From Gujarati: C.W. 2705. Courtesy: Dahyabhai M. Patel

288. TELEGRAM TO RAMDAS GANDHI[2]

November 2, 1934

RAMDAS GANDHI
ASHRAM
SABARMATI

YOU CAN COME. BRING OR SEND SHARMA.

BAPU

Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha, p. 112

[1] Swami Anand adds here: "As per instructions from Bapuji".

[2] The addressee, who had been undergoing allopathic treatment at a hospital in Ahmedabad, had returned to the Sabarmati Ashram and sought Gandhiji's permission to go over to Wardha.

289. LETTER TO AGATHA HARRISON

October 31/November 2, 1934

MY DEAR AGATHA,

I have been wanting to write to you every week; but it was impossible. You know the situation now. I am free and it is all to the good. Here is a copy of my statement to the Press made immediately after the breaking of silence, that is, made on the 30th. I want to devote next month at least to Harijan work and to launching out the contemplated Village Industries Association. But I want to pave the way for the Frontier even from now. I hope to be able to send my letter to the Government in a day or two. If I do, you will have a copy of it herewith. This is being dictated on 31st. This may be posted from Wardha on the 2nd November.

My desire throughout is so to act as to disarm all suspicion about the character of civil disobedience. At the present moment there is no question of others participating in it. So far as I can see the future, there is no likelihood of my initiating or precipitating mass civil disobedience for some years to come. I want to test the genuineness of public feeling by keeping myself aloof from the Congress and watching from a distance how Congressmen in general take to the constructive programme. Civil resistance can properly culminate in civil disobedience only when people learn the art of civil resistance which is nothing less and nothing more than refraining from doing anything that would keep up a system which you seek to destroy.

I observe that without breaking a single law, villagers can somewhat better their economic condition by reviving their industries. Hence the Village Industries Association. Hindu-Muslim tension also enables the system to live, and so does untouchability, so does the drink evil. People had sufficient experience now in this kind of training. I am, therefore, resisting every temptation to invite civil disobedience by the people. There is temptation enough. Even the prisoners in Bombay who were thought to be discharged are still in the various jails of the Presidency of Bombay. Buildings which have been seized by the Government are not being returned. I can multiply such instances drawn from various provinces. Nevertheless I know that I have to live down these irrita-

tions and so have fellow-workers. That appears to me just now the best form of resistance, if it may be so called. But if I may not go [to] the Frontier, and if there is no just cause for preventing me from going there, it may prove the last straw and I will again find myself utterly incapable of doing constructive work. I must receive this elementary satisfaction of the soul. Let me not anticipate. All I can say is that I shall not rush to the jail. You will have ample notice.

I hope Mira had a successful tour in America. You will share this letter with C. F. Andrews and whomsoever you like.

Did you get the balance paid to you of the expenses incurred here?

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

I have not yet drafted the letter about the Frontier.

Encl. 1

MISS AGATHA HARRISON
LONDON

From a photostat: G.N. 1480

290. LETTER TO SHANKERLAL BANKER

November 2, 1934

MY DEAR SHANKERLAL,

I enclose herewith a letter from Hiralal M. Garhwal. If the figures of the Hindi-speaking population for the Ahmedabad district are correct, evidently, the arrangements for schooling of Hindi-knowing children are inadequate. If what Hiralal says is true, I take it that most of the Hindi-speaking residents of Ahmedabad district are concentrated in the city and that they are mostly mill-hands. You will, therefore, let me know if you know anything about this and whether the Municipality is doing anything for them.

I enclose herewith also another letter. It is from Annadababu. He was here and in the course of the conversation there was an incidental reference to Dr. Sanyal's behaviour in the Subjects Committee. Apart from his behaviour, if what Annadababu says is correct, I suppose that whoever is responsible for enhancing the rent of the stalls, after they were given for Rs. 25 each, was wrong.

And if there was threat of withdrawal of certificates, the wrong was multiplied. Do you know anything about this? I remember your mentioning to me something about the reshuffling of rent. But I have no recollection of what Annadababu says as having happened.

Encl. 2
SHRI SHANKERLAL BANKER
AHMEDABAD

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

291. LETTER TO HIRALAL M. GARHWAL

November 2, 1934

MY DEAR HIRALAL,

I thank you for your letter of the 30th ultimo giving me figures of the Hindi-speaking population in the district of Ahmedabad.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI HIRALAL M. GARHWAL
KOSHTI SAMAJ MANDAL
BOMBAY 11

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

292. LETTER TO S. GANESAN

November 2, 1934

MY DEAR GANESAN,

I was extremely sorry that I was not able to talk to you as much as I would have liked. You are hasty in your judgment about Thakkar Bapa. He is a man with a great heart. You have to win him over by your humility, meekness and precision in work. That you are precise I know to my cost. But I cling to you because I believe you to be hard-working, honest and self-sacrificing. You are taking responsibilities beyond your capacity and then find yourself always in want and distress. I would, therefore, strongly discourage you against taking up more than you can, and then do thoroughly whatever you have. You will then find that you will be able to manage your domestic problem also much more successfully than you are now doing.

You have asked me whether I could let you publish a weekly like *Young India*. For the reasons I have given you I cannot contemplate any such thing. I wish I could trust you to discharge that burden in an efficient manner. And then too we have not enough liberty for conducting a fearless paper of the type of *Young India*. Therefore, I would like you to concentrate upon what you have. You can then think of more, and I should be glad to do what I can.

SHRI S. GANESAN
MADRAS

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarela

293. LETTER TO G. B. GAJBHIYE

November 2, 1934

MY DEAR GAJBHIYE,

I have now heard from Thakkar Bapa, and he says that it is not possible for him to help you at this stage. All the scholarships were considered and the allotment to the C. P. was exhausted. A stronger case than yours was rejected. Therefore, you must, for the time being, wait and try again.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI G. B. GAJBHIYE
MORRIS COLLEGE
NAGPUR

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers: Courtesy: Pyarelal

294. LETTER TO DOROTHY HOGG

November 2, 1934

DEAR DOROTHY,

I have your letter as also copies of the articles. They were quite serviceable. I suppose you are keeping yourself in touch with Agatha[1]. Therefore, I do not need to say much.

MRS. HOGG
DOVEMOUNT, DOVEDALE, ASHBOURNE
DERBYSHIRE, ENGLAND

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

295. LETTER TO DR. K. A. HAMID

November 2, 1934

DEAR DR. HAMID,

I had your letter of 22nd October. Khan Saheb Abdul Ghaffar Khan does not like travelling for the purpose of giving lectures. I, therefore, do not want to act against his inclinations. You must, therefore, do the best you can. Moreover, as I have retired from the Congress, such commissions ought not to be entrusted to me.

Yours sincerely,

DR. K. A. HAMID
JALGAON
E. KHANDESH

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] Agatha Harrison

296. LETTER TO HAR DAYAL NAG

November 2, 1934

DEAR HAR DAYALBABU,

I had your letter of 18th October last. You know what I have done. Let us hope that the Congress will be cleared of the hypocrisies that you are afraid of.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI HAR DAYAL NAG
CHANDPUR (BENGAL)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

297. LETTER TO SHAH

November 2, 1934

BHAI SHAH,

I had your letter and article. I think you might not like to stay and move with me. It is, therefore, good that you cannot spare the time just now. I would be happy if I am mistaken in my judgment.

I doubt if your son would like it either. What experience will he gain from me? Who knows what I shall be doing by the end of this month? I shall be free only when I put village industries on their feet. To put them on their feet means only to start an institution for doing the work. Whether I can contribute substantially to it depends upon my going or not going to jail. Of course, I am certainly eager to avoid such an eventuality. If I do not get the necessary freedom, there is no point in staying out of jail.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

298. LETTER TO SURENDRA

November 2, 1934

CHI. SURENDRA,

I have your letter. I understand the position. At present Sharma cannot be sent abroad and since he can go only after he is well settled he has no alternative but to stay on here. It would be best if he lives with his family and takes up some occupation. But neither his family nor Draupadi wants it. They all want him to stay with me. I am aware of his merits. If my analysis of his failings is correct I shall be able to cope with them. But ultimately God's will prevails. We have but to perform whatever duty comes our way.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

299. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

November 2, 1934

CHI. SHARMA,

Your letter. I also read Surendra's letter. You have to come here. After that we shall see what the right course of action is. People will not be reassured simply by your staying away. You have to come even in order to remove their misgivings. Vinoba is of course fully agreeable to your coming. Babaji[1] too will be glad to have you as a guest. I shall of course be happy. We shall see what to do if I find that I cannot bear with you. I have decided on a time limit of one year for you although you may continue to stay indefinitely.[2] Whether yon should live with Draupadi, submerge yourself in domestic duties, is for you to consider. Have we not agreed that you will do nothing under

[1] Moghe, Manager of the Ashram

[2] The addressee was reluctant to stay in the Sabarmati Ashram and had written to Gandhiji, saying that it would be like imprisoning him there, in view of his strained relations with the management.

compulsion nor go beyond your strength? I want this assurance from you and I shall see to the rest. Forget about Yoganand[1]. Let us not bother about what he is talking outside; he has not impressed anyone here. He did not at all impress me and therefore could not arouse suspicion against you. I stick to my diagnosis: suspicion, pride and fault-finding. Time alone is the antidote for suspicion; reducing oneself to a cipher is the remedy for pride and the cure for finding faults with others is to see one's own faults. If one regards oneself as the worst of all, one will not see faults in others and every fault will seem to be a form of illness. I shall certainly give you part of my day to discuss things but discussions alone will not help. I have plenty of manual work for you and along with it I shall take some other work also from you.

I have today sent a telegram[2] asking you to come over.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha*, facing p. 114

300. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

November 3, 1934

MY DEAR KUMARAPPA,

You might have seen the resolution[3] on the Village Industries Association and might have seen also that the burden has been put on your broad shoulders. The question is when you can come. I do not want you to neglect your work there, nor do I want you to take up this work before you can be disengaged from the responsibility there. Before you or I can ask Rajendrababu about disengaging you, you have to judge for yourself when you can safely disengage yourself. And if you cannot, you will say so. You will then give me your own views, and I shall see what can be or should be done. If you have any names of those who can form the Board, send me those names and any other suggestions that you have to make. I shall think out the consti-

[1] A sadhu from Khurja, whom some Ashram inmates had invited to seek information about the addressee

[2] *Vide* "Telegram to Ramdas Gandhi", p. 274.

[3] *Vide* p. 220.

tution. I have no doubt you have the full text of the resolution there. Only so much for the present.

SHRI J. C. KUMARAPPA
BIHAR CENTRAL RELIEF COMMITTEE
EXHIBITION ROAD, PATNA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

301. LETTER TO B. SHIVA RAO

November 3, 1934

MY DEAR SHIVA RAO,

I was glad to receive your letter and I thank you for the gift of the very useful volume on the constitutions of different countries. As you will be coming[1], I do not deal with the different points you have raised in your letter and the questions you have asked. If you can come between the 10th and 15th of this month, it would be very convenient. I shall keep your letter by me, and we shall discuss the points raised by you.

Of course the Village Industries Association will be open to all, including Government servants if they will subscribe to the rules of the Association. It is to be purely a non-political organization having no other end in view but the encouragement of village industries and general improvement of the condition of the villagers.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI B. SHIVA RAO
5 ALANDUR ROAD
SAIDAPET, MADRAS

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] Gandhiji had invited the addressee to discuss ways and means of making the All-India Village Industries Association an effective organization.

302. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI[1]

November 3, 1934

Note 3: In both (a) and (b), the word "member"[2] is used to denote a primary member, whereas whenever the word "membership" occurs the reference is to an elected member. At both places, therefore, you should use either "member" or "person". "Member" at one place and "person" at another will not be correct. The word "member" is not likely to be interpreted to mean a member holding an elective post. All the same, you should use the same word at both places, whichever you prefer.

Note 5: Bapu feels that the words "every district" throughout will serve the purposefully, or that, alternatively, the amendment suggested by him should be retained. Using the word "town" only will not permit the additional members in one town to be "amalgamated" with the additional members in another town in the same district, and will also create difficulties in forming constituencies with a minimum of five members.

Note 6: In clause (h) Bapu suggests the following amendment in place of the one suggested by you: "When the number of duly qualified primary members exceeds the minimum required for electing 2,000 delegates, the Working Committee shall readjust the minimum of 500 duly qualified primary members required per delegate so as to maintain the maximum for all India and the balance between urban and rural areas as per clause f(1) hereof."

Note 8: Bapu did not mean that when a special session was called the "A. I. C. C." would stand dissolved and fresh elections would be held. According to the proposed arrangement, the delegates once elected will continue for the whole year and the composition of the "A. I. C. C." also will remain the same, and the special session will be attended by the same persons, unless of course the delegates as a general body wish to dissolve the "A. I. C. C." and elect a fresh one in its place. That right belongs to every "bigger body". But otherwise there should be no need at all to elect a fresh "A. I. C. C." or "W. C." merely in order that a special session might be held.

[1] This was conveyed by Swami Anand in a letter to the addressee in which he wrote: "Bapu has both the drafts of the constitution along with your notes and has gone through the changes suggested by you. He now returns the lot with the following suggestions."

[2] Portions within quotes in this letter are in English.

Note 11: If an assurance was given to the "A. I. C. C." on Monday that the conditions mentioned in Article "III" would not, till the 1st of July, be applied to members elected just now, there is nothing to be said about it. Personally, however, Bapu could not reconcile himself to giving members permission to remain idle till then. There was definitely no such understanding when the constitution was passed. If, however, the assurance was given to the "A. I. C. C." in view of some other difficulties it must be honoured.

From Gujarati: C.W. 7559. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

303. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

November 4, 1934

MY DEAR ANAND,

I was glad to have your little note and to observe that you were making steady, though slow, progress. I am looking forward to seeing you with Jairamdas as soon as you are discharged. But don't worry the doctors over your discharge. Let there be a complete recovery. I must not attempt to write to Vidya just now as I want every minute that I can spare.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI ANAND T. HINGORANI
K. E. M. HOSPITAL
PAREL, BOMBAY

From a microfilm. Courtesy: National Archives of India and Anand T. Hingorani

304. *LETTER TO V. R. KULKARNI*

November 4, 1934

DEAR KULKARNI,

I have your letter. I return herewith your cuttings. The certificates are interesting. Before I can recommend you anywhere I would like you to give me a detailed scheme which any manager of a dairy could understand.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI V. R. KULKARNI
HANUMAN GADA
WARDHA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

305. *LETTER TO NILRANJAN PATNAIK*

November 4, 1934

MY DEAR NILRANJAN,

I was glad to get your letter. Much of what you say is true. The constitution[1] as amended should enable a good worker to make solid progress in working the Congress along right lines. If you have any suggestions to make in connection with the Village Industries Association, which is in the process of formation, please do.

I hope you are doing well.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI NILRANJAN PATNAIK
ASKA (GANJAM DT.)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* pp. 245-57.

306. LETTER TO MAURICE FRYDMAN

November 4, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. I have not yet seen your pamphlet. I am now asking for it if it was enclosed with your letter. I will not trouble you to come to Wardha at this stage. When I have drafted the rules of the Association, you shall have a copy. You will be better able to give me constructive criticism when you have seen the rules.

Yonrs sincerely,

MAURICE FRYDMAN, ESQ.
RACE VIEW
RACE COURSE ROAD, BANGALORE

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

307. LETTER TO MARGARETE SPIEGEL

November 5, 1934

CHI. AMALA,

I was happy to have your letter. There are but a few mistakes of language. I am writing this in English lest you should fail to decipher or understand it.[1] I am glad you are happy there. Your train letter was duly received. You have asked for your wheel. Do you really want it? I hope you are keeping yourself and your surroundings tidy. Of course, the more you labour the better you will feel. I hope you will preserve your health. Of course you may come during the Xmas, if you think it worth while. You will send your mother her remittance regularly. Mahadev was detained in Bombay for his son. The latter must have undergone operation yesterday.

[1] Up to this the letter is in Gujarati.

Do please write regularly. Do you get papers to read? You should describe your room and the people you meet.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Ba is still in Sabarmati with Ramdas.

Spiegel Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

308. LETTER TO TITUS

November 5, 1934

MY DEAR TITUS,

I have your letter. I quite agree with you that Surendra should have brought the matter to your notice before he wrote to me about the cows. But you need not worry as I am entirely satisfied that our cattle are not in that condition and that you are in no way to blame with reference to their upkeep.

Your scheme about removing the dairy to Biraj attracts me. I would personally like to let you try. But did you not discuss the scheme with Narandas? He had written to me, but he is silent about the scheme. Please collect opinion and let me know.

I am arranging for the prompt payment of the monies that are lost. I have already asked Narandas as to what I am to do and where it is to be sent. There would be no delay after I receive the answer.

I hope both you and your wife have completely recovered.

Love to you both.

BAPU

SHRI TITUS
SABARMATI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

309. LETTER TO S. GANESAN

November 5, 1934

MY DEAR GANESAN,

I thought that it was understood between you and me that Khan Saheb could not come and that you would ask Kakasaheb to give you a week. I do not know whether you asked him. It is not possible for me to send anyone else.

About the Introduction to Vol. III of *Young India*, I do not know that I shall get the time within the limit fixed by you. Mahadev is not here and he may not be for some time. On his return he will be overwhelmed with arrears.

I have written to you already about turning your bi-weekly paper into an official organ of the Village Industries Association. So long as you are living on the brink of civil debt, I would not think of putting extra burden on you, or trusting that I would be safe in your hands. Your desire for extension of your activities is wholly inconsistent with the opening of the second paragraph of your letter wherein you say: "I have reached the limit of perfect recovery. Any further delay may mean a breakdown." I do not know who the friend is who has promised to meet all the expenses. If I have a practical, reliable, firm proposition I would be prepared to reconsider my decision.

What will Sastri[1] do as the editor of the Village Industries Association? It requires special knowledge, and so far as I am aware Sastri has absolutely none. I do not know what V. S. V. Chari can do. A man who writes paragraphs for *The Statesman* is probably the last man to handle the village industries question with effect.

But without my identifying myself with your bi-weekly you should devote its columns to the constructive programme of the Congress if you can justify the title of your bi-weekly.

I have read your correspondence with Thakkar Bapa. The only thing I shall be able to discuss with him is the bill for the Supplements to *Harijan*. I might incidentally have to deal with the other things. I shall see.

[1] R. V. Sastri

The enclosed letter might be of interest to you.

Encl. 1

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

310. LETTER TO SIR ROBERT MCCARRISON

November 5, 1934

DEAR MAJOR-GENERAL,

I thank you for your letter and the books on food.

Yours sincerely,

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ROBERT MCCARRISON
KT.C.I.E., K.H.P., I.M.S.
DIRECTOR, NUTRITION RESEARCH
INDIAN RESEARCH FUND ASSOCIATION, COONOOR

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

311. LETTER TO MURJOR M. MANA

November 5, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. There is no doubt that any testimonial that can be devised for Jamshed Mehta will not be too much for his unique services. But how is it that you are the only person moving in the matter? I would strongly dissuade you from taking the lead. There should be a universal appeal from the citizens of Karachi or nothing at all. And if the citizens of Karachi do not move of their own accord, I will be the last person to prompt them.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI MURJOR M. MANA, B.E. (CIVIL), ETC.
BUNDER ROAD
KARACHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

312. LETTER TO N. SUNDARAM IYER

November 5, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I am afraid I can do nothing for you. Surely your son should be able to support you.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. N. SUNDARAM IYER
C/o N. R. SWAMY
KIDDERPORE, CALCUTTA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

313. LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI

November 5, 1934

CHI. RAMDAS,

I dare not send for you. How can I say that my treatment will surely benefit you? How can I experiment with you? Moreover, once you are here you will surely get involved in a number of things. After all, home is home. What one happens to see or hear cannot but affect one. Precisely for this reason I have left the matter entirely to you. At the moment I find my dharma of not opposing your wishes easy enough. It is the least likely to be wrong. Yet I would suggest this to help you to arrive at a decision. After much thinking I am inclined to select Poona. It has the best climate and good water. Lady Vithaldas[1] has been pressing me for it. Try her treatment and as Ba would be with you, you will find the going easy. If you [decide to] go there you had better send Sumitra here. Nimu also would like to come over but if you want to take her with you, by all means do so. From all this you will see that I am inclined to keep you away [from me]. Make up your mind after considering my inclination for what it is worth. Don't leave it to me. I do feel that

[1] Premlila, wife of Vithaldas Damodar Thackersey

you ought to come away from there. You may consult Dr. Jivraj at Bombay if he has the time. I would not mind, though, if you don't. You are not going to come to the slightest harm. Never mind if you take time to recoup your strength. Don't lose heart. Know that I am not at all opposed to your coming here if you like to do so. If you do come over I shall of course guide you as best as I can. But on the whole I like Mehta's treatment. All you need to have is proper diet. The treatment of egg-diet might prove beneficial if started early. Jugatram writes to say that he knows no vegetable product which can fully replace eggs. Milk is inferior to eggs and cannot match them. This had been proved right in Manu's case. She was given only uncooked eggs.

I trust Ba's cold has subsided.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

314. LETTER TO SRIKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

November 5, 1934

MY DEAR SRIKRISHNA[1],

I have your letter. You have become guardian angel to Brijkrishna. I quite agree with you that he ought not to tinker with his health. I would like him to go back to New Delhi and not leave it till he is completely restored. His unsteadiness ruins him. I have not heard from him for some time. You tell me what he is doing.

I see that Dr. Ansari is ailing in Hyderabad and therefore can't be in Delhi for some time.

I see what you are doing for yourself. I wish you success. I know that you have no lack of self-confidence.

Tell Brijkrishna to write to me. If I get the time, I shall put in a note for him with this.

BAPU

Encl. 1

SHRI SRIKRISHNA
KATRA KHUSHAL RAI
DELHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] Brijkrishna Chandiwala's brother

315. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

November 5, 1934

CHI. BRAJKRISHNA,

Why is there no letter from you? I did send a reply[1] asking you to come. It was addressed to Hardwar. Srikrishna's letter gives me to understand that you are not well. If that is so, the right thing for you would be to return to New Delhi. The best thing of course is to follow the doctor's advice.

Damodardas met me and we had a long talk but I was not satisfied. If what he says is true, either you have misunderstood him or he has changed his statement.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I am here for this month, if not longer.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2429

316. LETTER TO F. MARY BARR

November 6, 1934

CHI. MARY,

I have your letter. The previous one I sent to Chhotalal. I did get your note you left on the table. You were unnecessarily apologetic. You did not disturb my solitude. My solitude is taken in the midst of many. Are you to be held up there till Rangraoji returns? Are you doing your *takli* after the latest style? 'Whatever you do, do in the name of God and therefore in the best style possible' is a good motto.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 6032. Also C.W. 3361. Courtesy: F. Mary Barr

[1] *Vide* p. 162.

317. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

November 6, 1934

MY DEAR MUNSHI,

My mind is off the constitution now. Therefore, it is difficult for me to give you a definite opinion on your letter just received. On all the points raised by you, therefore, you should give full effect to that which was clearly understood at the sub-committee's deliberations. I sent you my phraseology[1] to meet what I thought was the prevalent view of the sub-committee. As you know, I was in it the whole of the time, but so was also Kishorelal. I would gladly prefer his memory to mine. Now for the details:

1. What was understood at the sub-committee was that, wherever, whether in rural area or urban area, contiguous places could be combined to form plural-member constituencies they should be so combined. There was no distinction between the urban area and the rural area except that in the urban area the maximum was fixed at ten members and the minimum at five, wherever such a thing [was] possible; for rural area no maximum or minimum was fixed, but wherever possible, by the process of amalgamation suggested above, plural-member constituencies were to be created. The question of amalgamating Ahmedabad, Dhanduka and Prantij does not arise at all in my conception. My difficulty arose in your drawing the distinction between the two areas. According to our definition of a town, it must have a population of more than 10,000. Any place having 10,000 or less is not a town and belongs to the rural area. I do not know if I have made my own meaning clear. If it is not clear, and if there is nobody whom you can consult as to the understanding, please enforce your own view. After all if there is any difficulty or difference of opinion among the members of A. I. C. C. it can be removed at the next session of the Congress.

2. The difficulty for Bombay in the matter of readjusting the proportion of 500 to one delegate was not before me, because it has 21 members allotted to it as the maximum. For the other

[1] *Vide* pp. 284-5.

provinces, I understand this to be the position. We have the maximum fixed for them and we have also the maximum fixed for urban and rural areas. Therefore, the distribution or readjustment will be according to provinces and further readjustment according to the areas in the respective provinces. My own interpretation of my draft is that both these are provided for. But if you think otherwise, then your draft should stand or any other you may frame to carry out this meaning. That the meaning is what I have given here I have no doubt whatsoever.

3. As to the special session I have no difficulty. The A. I. C. C., the Working Committee and the President will be at the disposal of the delegates. They will do whatever they like with them and I thought that our draft had so provided.

You may send me that final proof if you like, but I waive that privilege, because the publication of the constitution is overdue. If we have honestly tried to give effect to the views of the sub-committee as adopted by the Subjects Committee, our duty is done and we should stand the fire of criticism.

I hope you are not overworking yourself. I return the draft sent by you.

Blessings from
BAPU[1]

SHRI K. M. MUNSHI
BOMBAY

C.W. 7560. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

318. *LETTER TO DR. GOPICHAND BHARGAVA*

November 6, 1934

DEAR DR. GOPICHAND,

I have your letter. What you tell me about the happenings in Lahore makes me sad. But I suppose such things are inevitable. I will expect you to take only such part in the Congress as is to your liking and as enables you to keep it clean.

I hope to be able shortly to issue a statement[2] about the Village Industries Association. I might have issued it earlier, but, in spite of my getting up at half past two in the morning,

[1] The subscription is in Gujarati.

[2] *Vide* pp. 303-4.

I have not yet overtaken the arrears. But I shall presently put on speed. Of course, I shall want your assistance and that of all solid workers who would come forward. The resolution aims at moral uplift. Therefore, it includes social work so far as it can be advanced through village industries. If Jagannath offers his services and if he is allowed to do so, he will have to be a whole-timer. Can he be spared by the Society, and has he that inclination himself?

My programme up to the end of this month is that I am here. The future I do not know except that Utmanzai is my Mecca, Jerusalem or Kashi.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

319. *LETTER TO P. G. MATHEW*

November 6, 1934

MY DEAR MATHEW,

I am glad of your decision. Swami Anand will reach there on 9th and will take charge of you. He will put you among a band of workers. Your ultimate destination will be Thana, some miles from Bombay. Meanwhile you [will] be living with the workers in Bombay. You will live with them and board with them. But if you choose to find your own food, you can begin to draw Rs. 15 per month at once, i.e., from the time Swami Anand takes charge of you. Rs. 15 per month will cover your food, clothing, medicine if any and all extras. But they will not cover residence which will be found for you free of charge, so long as you are in Thana or Bombay. If you are posted in a village, in which there is not much change just now, Rs. 15 will cover everything including rent. You will give 8 hours' corporate labour and learn Hindi diligently. If you can do all this cheerfully I have no doubt that it will solve your difficulty and by God's grace you will get over the past.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

320. LETTER TO T. K. RAY CHOWDHARY

November 6, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. I have nothing for you that I can think of. My ambition about the Village Industries Association is much humbler than what you have evidently imagined.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI T. K. RAY CHOWDHARY, A.M.S.E.
ENGINEER
119 LUKERGANJ
ALLAHABAD

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

321. LETTER TO B. SATYANARAYANA

November 6, 1934

DEAR SATYANARAYANA,

I have your letter. You will please watch whatever I write about the activities of the Association which is in the process of formation.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI B. SATYANARAYANA
HANUMANPET
BEZWADA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

322. *LETTER TO AMALI SAID ABDUL HADI*

November 6, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. India is a very big place and unless I have much fuller particulars about your father than you have given it is impossible to trace him.

Yours sincerely,

AMALI SAID ABDUL HADI, ESQ.
C/O HAJ BAHA ABDUL HADI
NABLUS, PALESTINE

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

323. *LETTER TO GOVERNOR OF BASRAH PROVINCE, IRAQ*

November 6, 1934

GOVERNOR OF THE BASRAH PROVINCE
IN THE KINGDOM OF IRAQ AND
PRESIDENT OF THE BASRAH DATE ADVISORY BOARD
BASRAH

DEAR GOVERNOR,

I thank you for your kind letter intimating despatch of a consignment of dates. I know by experience the renown of Basrah dates. I am looking forward to the receipt of the consignment.

Yours sincerely,

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

324. LETTER TO DRAUPADI SHARMA

November 6, 1934

CHI. DRAUPADI,

Your letter. Amtussalaam is here; she is keeping well and engaged in Ashram work. She was to write to you. Ramdas is at Sabarmati; Kanu and Sumitra are with him. He might come here. Nimu is here. Sharma writes to say that he would reach here on the 8th. Why is Krishna still not well? Who is treating her? Do you want Sharma to go there? Write to me as freely as a daughter to her mother.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha*, facing p. 115

325. LETTER TO RAFI AHMED KIDWAI

November 7, 1934

MY DEAR RAFI,

I have seen your letter to Mahadev. Khan Brothers do not like the idea of going anywhere for making speeches. They love to go to the villagers and talk to them. But at present they are not doing even that. Khan Saheb himself is not keeping excellent either. You should, therefore, dispense with the Brothers' visit. You have now Sardar in your midst, and you should be more than satisfied. But if you must have a Mussalman, why not ask Maulana Saheb to come?

Your wire. What about the Exhibition? Will it satisfy my test?

Yours sincerely,

SHRI RAFI AHMED KIDWAI
MASOULI, BARABANKI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

326. LETTER TO ASAF ALI

November 7, 1934

MY DEAR ASAF ALI,

I have your telegram. The Khan Brothers I find to be of a most retiring nature. They are disinclined to go anywhere for making speeches. What is the [use] then of my pressing them to go anywhere? You should, therefore, do the best you can without them. But Dr. Ansari will be presently in your midst, though I do not like the idea of his exerting himself in the present state of his weakness. Why not ask Maulana Abul Kalam Azad? He ought to shoulder this burden and he is an effective speaker. I am glad that the atmosphere is clearing for you. I do hope that you will succeed.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI ASAF ALI, BAR-AT-LAW
FAIZ BAZAR
DELHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

327. LETTER TO EDITOR, "MANJI"

November 7, 1934

EDITOR, "MANJI"
AMRITSAR

DEAR SIR,

I do not know your magazine. I rarely send messages to newspapers, and never to those which I do not know.

Yours sincerely,

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

328. LETTER TO JANAMMAL

November 7, 1934

MY DEAR JANAMMAL,

I was glad to hear from you so soon after you reached Madras. If you can come quick, it would be good. But if you take a fortnight you will come when my movement will be uncertain and I may not be in Wardha. Unless, therefore, you come at once it would be perhaps better for you to wait till you know my future programme about which even if I forget Ambujam will write to you as soon as it is settled.

Did I give you the impression that you were weak-minded? I might have joked, but you never gave me any reason for thinking that you were weak-minded. You belong to a family whose members are known not for weakness but strength of mind.

Ambujam is getting on well, and I think she is perfectly happy here.

SHRI JANAMMAL
MADRAS

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

329. LETTER TO UMADEVI BAJAJ

November 7, 1934

CHI. UMA,

I suppose I should not expect any letter from you. I have not written to you, but I frequently think about you. I did not at all like your recent behaviour. Nor did I like your letter. You have tried in it to put up a specious defence of your conduct. What have you learnt by accompanying me on my tour for so many months? Will you reflect over it and write to me? During the Congress session, I saw you going from one end to the other. What a dress you were wearing on that day! I can't describe the pain and anger I felt then. Now keep your promise. Never behave in an unnatural manner. Always let yourself be seen as you are. They are thinking about your betrothal. Express your views frankly on that matter. Be truthful always, truthful in

thought and speech. If this is beyond your strength, leave me.

I shall wait for a detailed letter from you written in clear handwriting.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 340

330. *LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ*

November 7, 1934

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I get your notes. We cannot take it that the ear has been completely cured. Give me more details. It was fortunate that you went there in time.

Don't let there be any burden of work on your mind. From the point of view of work, I don't like your staying in Bombay. You must be getting hundreds of visitors. Don't worry about anything whatsoever.

Don't think about the Mahila Ashram. I am thinking about the problem. Radhakrishna also is giving all his time to it. I had a discussion with Bhagirathi. I will again discuss the matter with her. There is no fear of the institution breaking down.

I am worrying a little about Om. Don't take any step without consulting her. A letter to her is enclosed.

Does the meeting of the Gandhi Seva Sangh fixed for the 27th still stand? You may change the date if you wish. If you have to stay there longer and if the doctors permit you to leave the place for a week, you may come here and hold the meeting.

Do you go for walks? Are you careful about diet? If you have the habit of eating between meals, give it up. In digesting such things there is considerable drain on the energy of the brain. Open air and excercise are essential. I hope you are careful about sleep.

Ghani, Khan Saheb's son, wishes to work in your sugar factory. I don't want you to pay him anything at present. The idea is merely that he should get some training. If it is possible to give him some experience in a factory, it should be done. Think over this and let me know if this is possible.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2945

331. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

Diwali, November 7, 1934

CHI. PREMA,

You met me, but the meeting was as good as no meeting. I wanted to give my reply to your last letter when we met, but could not do so. I don't know whether it needs any reply now. I had expected a letter from you. You may, if you wish, ask me the same questions again or any other questions that you like. I shall be here for the whole of this month. I don't know what will be my programme after that. I couldn't have a talk with Sushila[1] either. I was very happy that Kisan[2] came and saw me on the last day, though I couldn't talk even with her.

Lilavati is here at present. She will leave for Rajkot to-morrow. She is very unsteady in mind. Perhaps she is more so than she was. She cannot adhere to one single decision.

Ba is coming back here on Saturday with Ramdas.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10362. Also C.W. 6801. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

332. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

November 8, 1934

I have seen newspaper paragraphs saying that a Delhi millionaire has placed at my disposal 20 lakhs of rupees for the All-India Village Industries Association which is in the process of formation. A later Press report makes me select Ahmedabad as the headquarters of the All-India Village Industries Association. Both these rumours are absolutely without foundation.

I would like the public to discount news about my movement or intention unless they are authorized by me. What is true is that I have promises of Rs. 2,500 per month, and have

[1&2] Addressee's friends Sushila Pai and Kisan Ghumatkar

already received over Rs. 500 in cash. Whilst the Association will undoubtedly need funds, it needs workers more than funds. The latter will come if the former is assured. I, therefore, invite those who would work for the Association to send in their names.

Only those will help who will give some time to the village or who are interested in what may at first sight appear to be uninteresting or unattractive village work. The work will be of four kinds: (1) to encourage and improve the known industries that are likely to perish for want of support; (2) to take charge of and sell the products of those industries; (3) to carry on the survey of such village industries as need to be revived and supported; and (4) to attend to village sanitation and hygiene.

Whist the Association is in the process of formation and the scheme of work is being framed, I would ask fellow-workers to set about encouraging hand-pounding of rice, grinding of whole-wheat meal by village *chakkis*[1] and popularizing *gur*[2] and study the processes with a view to ensuring the purity of the products.

The workers will collect accurate information about these three things and other village industries that may come under their observation and pass on to me such statistics as they may be able to collect.

I would also like to emphasize the fact that the Association is to be entirely non-political. Its sole object will be the economic, moral and hygienic uplift of the villages of India and it will be open to workers drawn from all parties. The test will be full sympathy with the programme and readiness to help it with money and action wherever possible.

The Bombay Chronicle, 10-11-1934

333. LETTER TO DR. B. C. ROY

November 8, 1934

DEAR DR. BIDHAN,

You promised to give me information about certain points I have mentioned. I summarize them below. I would like you to answer them as early as it is possible.

(1) Do you consider that unpolished rice is superior to polished rice from the nutritive standpoint?

[1] Manually operated grinding-stone

[2] Jaggery

(2) If unpolished rice is better than polished rice, is there any difference between unpolished rice turned out from mills and unpolished rice hand-pounded?

(3) Is there any difference in nutritive value between whole-wheat meal stone-ground on the indigenous *chakki* and whole-wheat meal ground in the ordinary mills?

(4) Is *gur* produced in the village *kolus*[1] superior to the sugar manufactured in the sugar mills? And if it is, what are the contents of *gur* which make it more desirable and nutritious as an article of food than refined sugar manufactured in the sugar mills?

(5) Is oil pressed in the village *kolus* superior to the oil pressed in the oil mills?

DR. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY
CALCUTTA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

334. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

November 8, 1934

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I got your letter. My New Year[2] blessings to both of you and the children.

You should not be impatient. Everything will be all right. Do village [reconstruction] work staying where you are. The work is such that it can be done by everybody anywhere.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5526

[1] Literally, 'oil-presses', here cane-crushing units
[2] *Kartak Sud* 1 of the Vikram Era

335. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

November 8, 1934

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your letter. You should get the money for the dairy from Ambalalbhai.[1] I will remit the amount. Narahari is here. You must send for the special cot, or buy one, on which Jamna can take sun-bath.

I understand what you say about Harilal.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I. Also C.W. 8422. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

336. LETTER TO KUSUMBEHN DESAI

November 8, 1934

CHI. KUSUM,

I have your letter. You have now accepted some responsibility at Rajkot. If your health permits and if you can do some work I shall certainly send for you and give you some teaching work. But I am worried about your health.

RAJKOT

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Ambalal Sarabhai", pp. 201-2.

337. *HARIJAN BOARDS*

What should be the qualifications of members of Harijan Boards and what should be the number constituting them, are the questions often asked. I endeavoured to answer[1] them fairly exhaustively at the meeting of the U. P. Provincial Board in Benares the other day. It is necessary, however, to revert to the questions from time to time or till such time as one definite policy has been evolved.

If we remember that members of these Boards are servants and not patrons, much less ornaments, most of the difficulties will be automatically solved. There will then be no question of pleasing or displeasing anybody. Only those will be included who are eager to serve the cause and whose presence will promote the usefulness of the Board to which they belong and whose capacity for service will be increased by their being members of a Board.

No one should allow himself or herself to be a member of a Board, unless he or she

(1) believes in the uttermost removal of untouchability,

(2) pays something to the Board according to his or her capacity,

(3) does some definite Harijan service, e.g., having a Harijan in his or her home as a member of the family, or at least as a domestic servant, or is teaching a Harijan or Harijans, or paying a regular visit to Harijan quarters and cleaning them, or, if he or she is a doctor, treating Harijan patients free of charge, etc.,

(4) sends to the Board a diary containing a record of his or her service from month to month.

If some such conditions are observed, there need be no restriction on the number of members. The more, the merrier. Such Boards will meet to take notes; exchange experiences and solve mutual difficulties. They will never waste time in fruitless discussions.

There may be Advisory Committees attached to the Boards. These will lay down for themselves some minimum qualifications.

[1] On July 29; *vide* Vol. LVIII, pp. 259-62.

Naturally the qualifications of advisers will be less stringent than those of members of regular Boards.

What if members with the qualifications I have described cannot be found is the natural question arising from the bare mention of them. I must repeat the answer I have given often enough before now. The persons invited by the Central Board to form Sanghs in their own provinces will, in the absence of members having the necessary qualifications, perform the service through agents. 'Act True' must be the motto of every Harijan Board, and there should never be any departure from the wholesome maxim.

Harijan, 9-11-1934

338. MY SUPPOSED INCONSISTENCY

The Editor has sent the following[1] received by him for answer:

> In the *Harijan* of the 9th March Gandhiji is reported to have said that 'there was no warrant in the Shastras for untouchability'[2] . . . [This] does not seem to accord with his previous statement, which was that there is such sanction but he did not accept the authority of such passages because they were immoral.
>
> Will you kindly explain the apparent inconsistency, through the columns of the *Harijan*?

I make no hobgoblin of consistency. If I am true to myself from moment to moment, I do not mind all the inconsistencies that may be flung in my face. But in the letter quoted, there is no inconsistency. If I reject certain texts in the Shastras as interpolations or inconsistent with the fundamental principles they lay down or with universal morality, surely, I am entitled to say that there is no warrant in the Shastras for the practice or belief that the objectionable texts prescribe. I have quoted the opinion of not one but several learned men in support of the contention that the Shastras do not enjoin untouchability as it is practised today. Of course, there is untouchability in the Shastras, but it is all curable in accordance with the simple methods prescribed by them. We all become untouchables every day when we attend to natural functions, and our untouchability is cured by simple ablutions. Indeed, even wicked thoughts make us untouchable, but

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.

[2] *Vide* Vol. LVII., p. 210.

we are cured by resisting them and purifying ourselves by taking the name of God as Rama or Vasudev or Narayan or Shiva and invoking His never-failing protection. Even so is a Harijan, whose occupation may render him untouchable, cured by prescribed purification. And certain sanatanists claim that there is an incurable untouchability which is handed down from father to son for generations and which will live to the end of Time. And what is the saddest of all is that the sanatanists claim that such untouchables are to be counted by the million. Their warrant for the belief in the existence of several million untouchables is not a Shastra, but census reports, which change from time to time and which are prepared by a host of enumerators who have no knowledge of the Hindu Shastras and, in numerous cases, are not themselves Hindus. It is thus a superstitious belief against which every lover of Hinduism should rise in rebellion.

Harijan, 9-11-1934

339. RIGHT OF MINORITY

A sanatanist asks:

As a sanatanist I have a difficulty about temple-entry by Harijans. Supposing among temple-goers of a particular temple there is a majority of 99 to 1 in favour of Harijans entering the temple and the temple is opened. What about the minority of one who has objection to worshipping in a temple visited by Harijans? If reformers have their way, will it not be an undue interference with the right of worship which belongs to the sanatanists from time immemorial?

There may be a public church of the Roman Catholics as well as a public church of Protestants in an English town. Even if the Protestants be in a majority, they would not interfere with the conduct of affairs in the Roman Catholic church. Why, then, should the reformers (even though in the majority) interfere with the conduct of affairs in a public temple belonging to the sanatanists?

I should answer the questions by putting another. If the one solitary sanatanist has the right, as he undoubtedly has, what about the majority? Have they no rights? The parallel quoted does not apply. The questioner has imagined the existence side by side of two churches belonging to different denominations. It would be a monstrous impertinence on the part of Protestants to interfere with the rights of Roman Catholics or *vice versa*. But suppose all the Protestants but one decided to admit to their temple persons

whom they had excommunicated for ages. Surely, they would have every right to lift the ban. Here there would be no question of changing one's religion, as there is in the case imagined by the questioner. In the temple-entry movement, reformers do not seek to alter their faith. If they did, in theory at least, not even a unanimous decision of temple-goers of a temple should entitle them to use a temple for purposes never intended by the founders. Here the reformers claim that the faith they profess in common with the sanatanists permits the use of their temples by fellow-Hindus, the Harijans. It is, therefore, a question of interpretation, and in such matters, the opinion of a majority must prevail. If it did not, it would amount to the coercion of a majority by a minority, and there would be an end to all progress. Indeed, the doctrine the questioner propounds would mean decay and death to a society that subscribes to it. It should be remembered that the minority is free to build a temple for itself. And so far as I am concerned, I have given my opinion that even a minority of one should have its prejudices so far respected that a special hour may be set apart so as to enable it to offer worship free from the intrusion, whether of reformers or of Harijans.

Harijan, 9-11-1934

340. LETTER TO KEDARNATH SAHA

November 9, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I have seen your letter to Sjt. Kumarappa who has not yet been able to take over charge. If you will send me a sample of your knives and *chappals*[1], I will endeavour to find a market for them if they are truly serviceable. Are the *chappals* made of slaughtered hide or dead-cattle hide? You may also send me samples of raw mulberry. I will have experiments made on them, and then it will be possible either to send someone there as an instructor or have someone from there for instruction.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI KEDARNATH SAHA
PLEADER
HAZARIBAGH

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] Slippers

341. LETTER TO MARIA

November 9, 1934

DEAR LARK,

I have your very carefully written postcard both in Italian and English. I do prize your prayer of which at this moment I am much in need. I cannot forget the Larks and they have always my blessings in so far as I may be fit to give them.

SISTER MARIA
LARK OF ST. FRANCIS
EREMO FRANCISCANO, TREVI (UMBRIA)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

342. LETTER TO E. E. SPEIGHT

November 9, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for sending me six copies of your book *Indian Masters of English*. How I wish I had the time to go through it carefully and give you my considered opinion on it! I could not resist the temptation of turning over the pages of the book, and I was delighted with the careful notes you have given at the end of every selection.

Yours sincerely,

E. E. SPEIGHT, ESQ.
OSMANIA UNIVERSITY
HYDERABAD (DN.)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

343. LETTER TO N. A. DRAVID

November 9, 1934

MY DEAR DRAVID,

I was delighted to receive your letter and the cutting. Do by all means come whenever it is convenient for you and pass a half-hour with me.

I am certainly full of plans for village reconstruction which I shall unfold to you far more easily in the course of a conversation than by writing a long letter. You know that when I was in Champaran and when I had the late Dr. Dev with me, I worked in several villages. At that time, the idea was to attend to the schooling of children and adults and to sanitation and hygiene of the villagers. Since then I have added a great deal to my knowledge of the village life. You will see the Press note that I have sent yesterday. It will show you the direction in which my mind is working.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI N. A. DRAVID, M.A.
SENIOR MEMBER
SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY
NAGPUR

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

344. LETTER TO BIHARILAL BHETRA

November 9, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. I return the enclosures you have asked for. I would not trouble you to come here to discuss things with me. I would like you to follow the development of the Association in the Press and then if you feel that you can usefully offer your services you will please write to me telling me at the same time what your requirement would be. You will see a Press note[1] which I have issued yesterday as a preliminary instruction

[1] *Vide* pp. 303-4.

to co-workers. You will glean from that Press note somewhat how the Association will shape itself.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI BIHARILAL BHETRA
C/o THE D.& D. CO. (INDIA) LTD.
ANARKALI BAZAR, LAHORE

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

345. LETTER TO RAM DASS

November 9, 1934

MY DEAR RAM DASS,

I was wondering how you were doing when I got your post-card today. Khan Saheb is a very correct worker. He never allows grass to grow under his feet and therefore he has been sending your statements all over for investigation. Here is a letter received by him in reply to a letter of his. You will please return that letter with your answer.

If there is something still left in you which is chronic will you be able to keep well in these parts? You should remember that you were to go to Savli to be trained for khadi work. I do not want you to collapse again, for each collapse will leave you weaker than before.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI RAM DASS
C/o DR. M. L. GULATEE
KOHAT (N. W. F. P.)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

346. LETTER TO S. GANESAN

November 9, 1934

MY DEAR GANESAN,

With reference to the bill you sent to Thakkar Bapa for Rs. 84-12-0, I have discussed the matter with him and I have suggested that the bill should remain in abeyance. At the present moment we have a bill left. When the time comes for our reviewing the situation, if the life of the *Harijan* has to be prolonged and if the discharge of the Rs. 84-12-0 bill is of any material help to us in keeping that alive, we can take the amount of the bill from them. Otherwise the money should be written off as if the printing of the Supplement was done in the usual course. I know that I held a different view at one time; but I am overborne by the consideration that so long as we can make the two ends meet, even including this bill, we should not fall back upon the central fund. After all we are drawing upon that fund for a part of Sastri's emolument.

You have asked for a return of Thakkar Bapa's letters to you. Here they are.

I was incidentally discussing your general affairs with him and I can give you this assurance that he has no irritation against you. What he feels is that you overrate your ability to do things and that you are generous at the expense of your trust. As for instance, he related to me the story of outdoor boys whom you are training and for whom you are providing afternoon refreshments although it is no part of your job to do so and although the boys who come are not so poor as not to afford one or two pice for refreshments. This story was told him by one who is in sympathy with you and your work and who appreciates your self-sacrifice. Thakkar Bapa did not mention this with any sense of injustice; but he simply gave an instance of your generous nature. Generosity is a virtue when we exercise it at our own expense; it is a vice when we exercise it at the expense of the trust that might have been given to us. A trustee has to take the role of a miser in regard to his trust.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

347. LETTER TO KANTI GANDHI

November 9, 1934

CHI. KANTI,

I got your letter. May the New Year prove fruitful for your body, mind and soul.

Four hundred rounds is certainly not the average speed of spinning on the *takli*. Bhau and others have reached that figure and are trying to go still farther. Two hundred rounds has become the average speed. One hundred and sixty should be reckoned as the minimum.

Harilal's reformation so far seems to be permanent. Narandas seems to be satisfied.

Do continue milk and ghee.

My health has become excellent now. These days I take only unboiled milk, fruit and uncooked vegetables, the last not more than one ounce. They include cucumber, radishes, *luni* leaves, tomatoes, etc. My weight was taken only today and it was found to be 107½ lb. This is very good improvement indeed.

Ramdas and Ba are expected to return tomorrow. Kishorelal and Gomati arrived yesterday. Other arrivals and departures continue, as usual.

Have you received the money now?

Have you heard that Kanu is here and that Prithuraj is starting business? Jivandas also has started business.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Mahadev will return today from Bombay. Bablo was operated upon for tonsils. Jamnalal has not yet fully recovered and is obliged to remain in Bombay for the present.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7289. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

348. INTERVIEW TO NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE[1]

November 9/10, 1934[2]

QUESTION: . . . Should khadi be merely a sort of humanitarian work or should we use it chiefly as an instrument of political education? Our experience has been that unless the ultimate objective is kept clearly in mind, it degenerates easily into a work of no significance.

ANSWER: The two issues of khadi and political organization should be kept absolutely separate. There must be no confusion. The aim of khadi is humanitarian; but so far as India is concerned, its effect is bound to be immensely political.

The Salvation Army wants to teach people about God. But they come with bread. For the poor bread is their God. Similarly we should bring food into the mouths of the people through khadi. If we succeed in breaking the idleness of the people through khadi, they will begin to listen to us. Whatever else the Government might do, it does leave some food for the villagers. Unless we can bring food to them, why should the people listen to us? When we have taught them what they can do through their own efforts, then they will want to listen to us.

That trust can best be generated through khadi. While working out the khadi programme our aim should be purely humanitarian, that is, economic. We should leave out all political considerations whatsoever. But it is bound to produce important political consequences which nobody can prevent and nobody need deplore.

Q. Could we not start small battles on local and specific issues against capitalism in the villages and use them as a means of strengthening the people or bringing about a sense of co-operation among them, in preference to the khadi method? When we have a choice between the two, which should we prefer? If we have to sacrifice all the work that we have built up in the villages in connection with khadi while fighting against the money-lender or the landed proprietor, for, say, a reduction in the rate of interest or increase in the share of agricultural produce, then what shall we do—provided the latter is more liable to evoke self-confidence among the villagers than the khadi method of organization?

[1&2] According to the source, Nirmal Kumar Bose met Gandhiji on November 9 and 10. The report was published after correction by Gandhiji.

A. It is a big proviso you have added at the end of the question. I cannot say if fights on local and specific issues against capitalists are more likely to generate the kind of determination and courage needed in a non-violent campaign. But if I concede you that point, then khadi would have to be sacrificed under the circumstances you quote. As a practical man, claiming to be an expert in non-violent methods, I should advise you not to go in for that type of work in order to train the masses in self-consciousness and attainment of power.

We are fighting for swaraj in the non-violent way. If many workers in different parts of India engage in local battles of the sort you describe, then, in times of necessity, people all over India will not be able to make a common cause in a fight for swaraj. Before civil disobedience can be practised on a vast scale, people must learn the art of civil or voluntary obedience. Our obedience to the Government is through fear; and the reaction against it is either violence itself or that species of it, which is cowardice. But through khadi we teach people the art of civil obedience to an institution which they have built up for themselves. Only when they have learnt that art can they successfully disobey something which they want to destroy in the non-violent way. This is why I should advise all workers not to fritter their fighting strength in many-sided battles, but to concentrate on peaceful khadi work in order to educate the masses into a condition necessary for a successful practice of non-violent non-co-operation. With their own exploitation, boycott of foreign cloth through picketing may easily be violent; through the use of khadi it is most natural and absolutely non-violent.

Q. Is love or non-violence compatible with possession or exploitation in any shape or form? If possession and non-violence cannot go together, then do you advocate the maintenance of private ownership of land or factories as an unavoidable evil which will continue so long as individuals are not ripe or educated enough to do without it? If it be such a step, would it not be better to own all the land through the State and place the State under the control of the masses?

A. Love and exclusive possession can never go together. Theoretically when there is perfect love, there must be perfect non-possession. The body is our last possession. So a man can only exercise perfect love and be completely dispossessed, if he is prepared to embrace death and renounce his body for the sake of human service.

But that is true in theory only. In actual life, we can hardly exercise perfect love, for the body as a possession will always remain with us. Man will ever remain imperfect, and it will always be his part to try to be perfect. So that perfection in love or non-possession will remain an unattainable ideal, as long as we are alive, but towards which we must ceaselessly strive.

Those who own money now are asked to behave like trustees holding their riches on behalf of the poor. You may say that trusteeship is a legal fiction. But if people meditate over it constantly and try to act up to it, then life on earth would be governed far more by love than it is at present. Absolute trusteeship is an abstraction like Euclid's definition of a point, and is equally unattainable. But if we strive for it, we shall be able to go further in realizing a state of equality on earth than by any other method.

Q. If you say that private possession is incompatible with non-violence, why do you put up with it?

A. That is a concession one has to make to those who earn money but who would not voluntarily use their earnings for the benefit of mankind.

Q. Why then not have State-ownership in place of private property and thus minimize violence?

A. It is better than private ownership. But that too is objectionable on the ground of violence. It is my firm conviction that if the State suppressed capitalism by violence, it will be caught in the coils of violence itself, and will fail to develop non-violence at any time. The State represents violence in a concentrated and organized form. The individual has a soul, but as the State is a soulless machine, it can never be weaned from violence to which it owes its very existence. Hence I prefer the doctrine of trusteeship.

Q. Let us come to a specific instance. Supposing an artist leaves certain pictures to a son who does not appreciate their value for the nation and sells them or wastes them, so that the nation stands to lose something precious through one person's folly. If you are assured that the son would never be a trustee in the sense in which you would like him to be, do you not think the State would be justified in taking away those things from him with the minimum use of violence?

A. Yes, the State will, as a matter of fact, take away those things, and I believe it will be justified if it uses the minimum of violence. But the fear is always there that the State may

use too much violence against those who differ from it. I would be very happy indeed if the people concerned behaved as trustees; but if they fail, I believe we shall have to deprive them of their possessions through the State with the minimum exercise of violence. That is why I said[1] at the Round Table Conference that every vested interest must be subjected to scrutiny, and confiscation ordered where necessary with or wihout compensation as the case demanded.

What I would personally prefer would be not a centralization of power in the hands of the State, but an extension of the sense of trusteeship; as in my opinion the violence of private ownership is less injurious than the violence of the State. However, if it is unavoidable, I would support a minimum of State-ownership.

Q. Then, sir, shall we take it that the fundamental difference between you and the Socialists is that you believe that men live more by self-direction or will than by habit, and they believe that men live more by habit than by will; that being the reason why do you strive for self-correction while they try to build up a system under which men will find it impossible to exercise their desire for exploiting others ?

A. While admitting that man actually lives by habit, I hold that it is better for him to live by the exercise of will. I also believe that men are capable of developing their will to an extent that will reduce exploitation to a minimum. I look upon an increase of the power of the State with the greatest fear, because although while apparently doing good by minimizing exploitation, it does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality, which lies at the root of all progress. We know of so many cases where men have adopted trusteeship, but none where the State has really lived for the poor.

Q. But have not those cases of trusteeship which you sometimes cite been due to your personal influence rather than to anything else? Teachers like you come infrequently. Would it not be better, therefore, to trust to some organization to effect the necessary changes in man, rather than depend upon the casual advent of men like yourself ?

A. Leaving me aside, you must remember that the influence of all great teachers of mankind has outlived their lives. In the teachings of each prophet like Mohammed, Buddha or Jesus, there was a permanent portion and there was another which was suited to the needs and requirements of the times. It is only because we try to keep up the permanent with the impermanent aspects of their teachings that there is so much distortion in re-

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLVIII, pp. 314-25.

ligious practice today. But that apart, you can see that the influence of these men has sustained us after they have passed away. Moreover, what I disapprove of is an organization based on force which a State is. Voluntary organization there must be.

Q. What then, sir, is your ideal social order?

A. I believe that every man is born in the world with certain natural tendencies. Every person is born with certain definite limitations which he cannot overcome. From a careful observation of those limitations the law of varna was deduced. It establishes certain spheres of action of certain people with certain tendencies. This avoided all unworthy competition. Whilst, recognizing limitations, the law of 'varna' admitted of no distinctions of high and low, on the one hand it guaranteed to each the fruits of his labours and on the other it prevented him from pressing upon his neighbour.

This great law has been degraded and [has] fallen into disrepute. But my conviction is that an ideal social order will only be evolved when the implications of this law are fully understood and given effect to.

Q. Do you not think that in ancient India there was much difference in economic status and social privileges between the four varnas?

A. That may be historically true. But misapplication or an imperfect understanding of the law must not lead to the ignoring of the law itself. By constant striving we have to enrich the inheritance left to us. This law determines the duties of man. Rights follow from a due performance of duties. It is the fashion nowadays to ignore duties and assert or rather usurp rights.

Q. If you are so keen upon reviving varnashrama, why do you not favour violence as the quickest means?

A. Surely the question does not arise. Definition and performance of duties rule out violence altogether. Violence becomes imperative when an attempt is made to assert rights without reference to duties.

Q. Should we not confine our pursuit of Truth to ourselves and not press it upon the world because we know that it is ultimately limited in character?

A. You cannot so circumscribe truth even if you try. Every expression of truth has in it the seeds of propagation, even as the sun cannot hide its light.[1]

The Hindustan Times, 17-10-1935

[1] The source reproduced this from *The Modern Review*.

349. *LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE*[1]

November 10, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

Gita and other scriptures you quote undoubtedly discountenance ignorant crucifixion of the body. But all insist upon self-restraint and sacrifice. These necessarily include fasting undertaken with deliberation and discretion.

With reference to your second letter, you have to refer to the Secretary of the Working Committee of the Congress for an authentic opinion. In my opinion, the difficulty that you have to face is common to all. But I do not understand your difficulty at all. The primary members are not required to be habitual wearers of khaddar, but primary members who want to be elected as members of Committee have to be habitual wearers of khaddar. If they want to qualify, they can begin to wear khaddar as a habit, and in six months' time they will be fully qualified candidates.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE
SHOLAK (BENGAL)

From a photostat: C.W. 1448. Courtesy: A. K. Sen

350. *LETTER TO SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI*

November 10, 1934

MY DEAR SURESH,

I have your letter. I do wish you to get on well. I have sent you messages through Prafulla. One thing I want to emphasize. Just as a prisoner has no right to think of the world outside the prison walls, much less to form any opinion about what he may hear of events taking place outside his little universe of the jail, so also should a sick person lying on his bed

[1] On this the addressee has recorded: "This is a rejoinder to my criticism against 'fast' and the khadi clause in the Congress constitution."

cease to apply his mind to problems of the world outside the sick room. He is no longer taking an active part in those events; he honestly becomes unfit to give a correct judgment. This is also the ideal put before the sannyasi. Immediately a man takes sannyasa he is supposed to cut himself off from the day-to-day activities of the world. If these very simple obvious facts of life were borne in mind we should be spared so much misery, misunderstanding and so many errors; and prisoners, sick people and sannyasis would lead peaceful lives and do justice to their respective stations. If you are not in pain, I would like you to do one thing: that is, to write out the medical chapters for Satisbabu's book. I want a good guide for village workers. The conception is to produce a book after Moore's *Family Medicine* or *Everybody His Own Doctor*.

SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI
DOW-HILL (BISHOKA)
DT. DARJEELING

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

351. LETTER TO S. R. SUNDARARAJAN

November 10, 1934

DEAR SUNDARARAJAN,

I have your letter. I am afraid you cannot stay with me. My movement is uncertain. Khan Saheb does not keep anybody with him. You should, therefore, create an atmosphere of purity yourself around you, and this you can do by contemplating pure writings of authors of unimpeachable purity as for instance the *Gita*, *Ramayana* of Tulsidas, portions of *Mahabharata*, etc. I am glad to know that you were the worker who was in charge of my bath-room and did scavenging work.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI S. R. SUNDARARAJAN
"SWATHANTHRA SANGU"
8C PYCROFTS ROAD,
TRIPLICANE, MADRAS

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

352. LETTER TO CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI

November 10, 1934

DEAR CHARUBABU,

I was delighted to have your exhaustive letter. I can't give you any guidance just now. But I would like you to keep me in touch with your activities. Follow the development of the Association which is in the process of formation, and I would like you also to confer with Satisbabu and give him such assistance as you can in his Harijan work which he has got to develop being in control of the all-Bengal work. This might enable you to support some of your co-workers, fully or in part. At the same time they will be rendering most useful service.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI
DIAMOND HARBOUR
(24 PARGANAS)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

353. LETTER TO G. S. NARASIMHACHARI

November 11, 1934

DEAR NARASIMHACHARI,

I have your letter. I have no intention of touring in connection with the All-India Village Industries Association just being formed. You will glean from the papers what I am doing. By this time you should know that I have ceased to be even a primary member of the Congress.

I never knew that there was a movement in Andhradesh against Hindi *prachar*[1]. But I would myself resist any attempt to displace the rich vernaculars of the different provinces. Hindi is not intended to take their place, but it is intended to supplement them as a medium of inter-provincial intercourse. There-

[1] Propaganda

fore, Hindi propaganda should not only not interfere with the progress of vernaculars, but it must enrich them.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI G. S. NARASIMHACHARI
C/o VICE-CHANCELLOR
WALTAIR

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

354. *LETTER TO SAM HIGGINBOTTOM*

November 11, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I do appreciate your letter of the 8th instant just received. Do please send me all your suggestions. You would have seen the brief statement I had issued. Nevertheless I send you a copy for ready reference. It represents an outline of my mind's working. I do not propose to tour in connection with the work, at least not at the present moment. I am holding informal discussions with friends interested in the project, and I have Prof. Kumarappa with me just now. I would love to meet you in the course of the month after a preliminary exchange of views by correspondence. That will enable us to save our time at the time of discussion.

I am sure you realize one fundamental fact. What applies to America and England does not necessarily apply to India. India has in her teeming millions so many superfluous days that she does not need to free the energy of her sons for superior or more remunerative work through highly developed machinery. In her 350 million children she has so many living ready-made machines, and if she can utilize their labour, half of which is running to waste, the double starvation of the body and the mind will cease. That is the problem that faced me when I returned to India in 1915, and has haunted me ever since.

Yours sincerely,

PROF. SAM HIGGINBOTTOM
ALLAHABAD CHRISTIAN COLLEGE
AGRICULTURAL INSTITUTE, ALLAHABAD

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

355. *LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI*

November 11, 1934

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I get your letters regularly. So it seems we shouldn't expect a permit for Ramdas after all. He does want to get all right without having to go there. All the same if you can secure a permit do send it. If you cannot, tell me so plainly. We don't want it if you have to flatter anybody to get it. We want it only if you can get it in a straight manner. Ramdas and Ba arrived yesterday. Ramdas has returned a mere skeleton. He will be under my treatment now. I am hopeful that he will be all right.

I understand about the Agent. Do what you think right. I told you what I felt, but finally the pen is in your hands. I would certainly not sit in judgment over you from this distance. I don't wish to teach you to act unnaturally. Do only that which finds an echo in your heart. If you make a mistake, you will correct it afterwards. Listen to everybody and think over what they say, but in the end do just what seems right to you.

Mirabehn will be returning at the end of this month. She seems to have done excellent work.

Devdas, Lakshmi and Nimu are very well. Narandas's Kanu is with me. Prithuraj has started business. Kishorelal is here. Jamnalalji's ear still gives him trouble and he is, therefore, in Bombay.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

You must have read everything about me in the papers. Hence I don't write anything here. I felt sorry on reading about Omar Sheth.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4827

356. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

November 11, 1934

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I got your letter. The ear is . . .[1]. No complaint should remain now.

Visitors must be stopped. You must not tax and tire your brain. If necessary, you should take a vow of silence for that purpose. You may talk only about matters connected with the doctor, or with attendants about your needs. Unless you do something of this sort, it will be difficult for you to remain quiet in Bombay. And treatment is possible only there. I hope you will not forget this fact. . . . Madalasa is all right.

I will explain everything to Ghani before sending him. I had showed your letter to Khan Saheb. He agrees with your view. He will not, therefore, blame you if Ghani fails. I have taken . . . after discussing it with Ghani. . . . He need not be paid just now.

Mirabehn is arriving on the 21st in an Italian steamer. She will arrive here on the 22nd. Khan Saheb's daughter will be accompanying her. Ramdas and Ba are staying in the building previously occupied by Jajuji[2]. I am hopeful that he will get all right. We have started giving him eggs from today. He has become very thin indeed.

Kumarappa and Shiva Rao are here[3]. We have started the discussions today. I am not calling Mary just now. What is your plan about her?

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, pp. 140-1

[1] Omissions in this letter are as in the source.
[2] Shrikrishnadas Jaju
[3] *Vide* "Letter to B. Shiva Rao", p. 283.

357. *LETTER TO RAJENDRA PRASAD*

November 11, 1934

BHAI RAJENDRA PRASAD,

I have your letter but not the copy of the one you addressed to Dr. Roy.

I do not feel like expressing an opinion but to withhold it too does not now seem right. In my opinion no action should be taken for the present. Let there be fresh elections to the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. After they are over we may see what we can do. If the decision already taken is just and fair, making changes simply on account of the agitation in Bengal does not seem right. But then please do whatever you think right. In that case, my opinion need not be given any weight.

I do not feel I am obliged to make any alteration in what has been submitted in respect of Suresh.

Get back your health and come here soon.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Hindi: A. I. C. C. file No. G-30/1933. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

358. *LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA*

[Before *November 12, 1934*][1]

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

Your two letters are lying in front of me. Regarding rice I have myself observed that only polished rice is available here. A rice-mill owner himself informed me that people preferred polished rice. Anyway enquire in Calcutta and let me know. You say that from the economic point of view our vote ought to be cast in favour of mortar and pestle. But how? It only means, doesn't it, that the villager will save some money? Tell me if it implies anything more.

[1] The addressee received this letter on November 12, 1934.

Write to me after considering the cases of sugar and jaggery from both the viewpoints. What interest will you take in this new institution[1] and have you thought of offering it any aid? Would you in that case make some possible changes in your life? You must be aware of Rameshwardas's decision in this regard. How is Gajanan?

What about your operation? You must decide one way or the other.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I shall be here till the end of this month, if not longer. After that I intend to write about Utmanzai.

From Hindi: C.W. 8000. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

359. LETTER TO MOTILAL ROY

November 12, 1934

DEAR MOTIBABU,

I have your long letter and the enclosures. About the letter from All-India Spinners' Association I need say nothing as I expect to hear from you again. With reference to the letter from Saratbabu, I have always held the opinion that there is no contradiction between real beauty and truth. Therefore, truth is always beautiful.

Truth, therefore, in my opinion, is the whole of art. Art divorced from truth is no art, and beauty divorced from truth is utter ugliness. That in this world many ugly things pass for beauty is too true. That happens because we do not always appreciate truth.

I hope you are keeping well. You will follow the fortunes of the All-India Village Industries Association and take what part you can in it. Please pass on all the suggestions you like.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI MOTILAL ROY
PRABARTAK SANGHA
CHANDRANAGORE

From a photostat: G.N. 11048

[1] All-India Village Industries Association

360. NOTES TO ANAND T. HINGORANI[1]

November 12, 1934[2]

On the way you will tell me all you have to. Tomorrow morning of course we would talk.

* * *

Are you all right now? How is Vidya and her brother?

From a microfilm. Courtesy: National Archives of India and Anand T. Hingorani

361. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

November 12, 1934

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I am not happy at the delay in the healing of your ear. I have sent letters to the doctors.

Jayaprakash seems to be ill. He wants Prabhavati to go to Ahmednagar. If she goes, it is best from the point of view of the Ashram that she should go just now. If, therefore, Jayaprakash wants her to go and if you permit, I will secure Vinoba's permission and send her away. She is extremely busy even today. . . .[3]

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 141

[1] These are written on two slips.

[2] Supplied by the addressee

[3] Omission as in the source. Clarifying this letter Pyarelal wrote another letter to the addressee the same day which read: "Bapuji has written to you today in connection with Prabhavati. What he meant to say was that if Jayaprakash wanted to call over Prabhavati to Bombay and if you agreed she could leave for Bombay with Vinobaji's permission after hearing from you. But this was not so in the case of going to Ahmednagar. If his letter conveys a different meaning it needs to be corrected. His intention is exactly what I have written to you."

362. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

November 12, 1934[1]

CHI. SHARMA,

I could understand what you say in your letter. It is written in a plain straightforward manner but it is full of your ignorance. If you go to England you must acquire a degree and it takes a minimum of seven years to attain a genuine degree and in no case less than five years. And all that you will get will be what you could have achieved here itself. You have made a grave allegation against British-educated as well as Indian-educated doctors. At present there are doctors of both the types who perform the work of a Bhangi and feel no shame in that. Rupees 3,000 is not enough these days for seven years. You should have at least Rs. 30,000. And Rs. 60,000 if you take Draupadi along with you. This is the minimum sum needed for seven years. In spite of my simple living it cost me Rs. 13,000 for three years. And the cost of living has now doubled. But the consideration of money may be looked upon as secondary. I am strongly opposed to the very idea of going to England. Going to England might be proper only after one has acquired a basic knowledge of one's subject. I have no doubt that the basic knowledge can be easily acquired in India itself. The notion of going to England is simply mistaken and must be put an end to. If you think that you are not in error you may rebel against me and go in dependently without my blessings. You have the right to rebel as did Prahlad. A revolt is proved right only by its success. I too had defied my brother, who was like a father to me, for thirteen years. It was successful because it proved to be morally correct. You too may take recourse to defiance if you so wish.

If you would listen to me do as I say. Stay on here for the time being. Study anatomy and physiology. I can get the doctor here to help you. Do whatever work I may assign to you. You may if you wish send for Draupadi. I can arrange for some accommodation. I too don't like Draupadi's absence from your side. You may take it that your knowledge of physio-

[1] The printed source, however, has "12-12-34".

logy is very imperfect, almost nil. The love of study needed for this, I find, is lacking in you. Tell me if I am mistaken.

If you do not like my proximity you may live at a place of your own choosing and be content with correspondence. But if it comes to that I will take it to mean lack of forbearance in you. I know those who cannot live with me. You are not one of those nor should you ever be.

Ask me if all this is not clear. Try to understand it well.

I return your letter so that you may not have to prepare a copy.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha*, between pp. 132 and 133

363. TELEGRAM TO ASAF ALI

[Before *November 13, 1934*]

I HOPE EVERY DELHI VOTE WILL BE CAST IN YOUR FAVOUR.[1]

The Hindustan Times, 13-11-1934

364. LETTER TO SIR JAMES GRIGG

November 13, 1934

DEAR SIR JAMES GRIGG,

There is a humanitarian clause in the now defunct Irwin-Gandhi Pact which, as I learnt from your predecessor-in-office, Sir George Schuster, was not withdrawn by the Government. I had fully intended to publish this correspondence[2] between Sir George and myself. But by reason of my preoccupations, it has remained unattended to and unpublished. If the Government policy remains as stated in Sir George's letter to me, I should like to publish the correspondence. I shall esteem a line in

[1] The addressee was seeking election to the Central Legislative Assembly.
[2] *Vide* Vol. LVII, pp. 319-20 and 389.

reply.[1] Many poor people do not know that the salt concession has not been withdrawn.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SIR JAMES GRIGG
NEW DELHI

Home Department, Political, File No. 89/34. Courtesy: National Archives of India

365. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

November 13, 1934

DEAR SISTER

I am trying to form the Executive Board of the All-India Village Industries Association. It is to be a compact board of very few members. If you are sufficiently interested in it and would work on it, I would love to put your name on the Board. Kindly wire your decision. I would like you to say yes, if you have no insuperable objection.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR
JULLUNDAR
PUNJAB

From the original: C.W. 3513. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6322

[1] The addressee replied on November 22: "There is no objection to the publication of the correspondence. . . ." It was published in *Harijan*, 30-11-1934, under the heading "Free Salt for the Salt of the Earth".

366. LETTER TO C. G. RAMAN

November 13, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I must not trouble you to come to Wardha, for I am not much interested in the invention to which Sjt. Mehta refers in his letter.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI C. G. RAMAN
LINOTYPE AND MACHINERY, LTD.
21 GRAHAM ROAD, BALLARD ESTATE, BOMBAY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

367. LETTER TO N. S. BENGALI

November 13, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I can see no use in your meeting me, because you seem to hold views wholly different from mine. I would, therefore, invite you to view the village movement with sufficient detachment, and then if you find that you have come to the wrong conclusions, you will naturally write to me, and I would be glad to take from you such service as you are willing to render.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI N. S. BENGALI, B.SC., L.T.
KARANDIKAR'S BUNGALOW
DHANTOLI, NAGPUR

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

368. LETTER TO BHAU P. PATIL

November 13, 1934

MY DEAR BHAU,

I have your letter. What you say is all good. You should write to Thakkar Bapa. After all he is the keeper of the purse.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI BHAU P. PATIL
SHRI CHHATRAPATI SHAHU BOARDING HOUSE
SATARA CITY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

369. LETTER TO DR. SATHAYE

November 13, 1934

DEAR DR. SATHAYE,

I had your telegram. Since my retirement from the Congress I have refrained from sending special messages. I could not make any exception. I hope, therefore, that you will forgive me for not sending you one.

Yours sincerely,

DR. SATHAYE
GIRGAUM
BOMBAY 4

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

370. LETTER TO J. MACK WILLIAMS

November 13, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter of 15th ultimo. The rules that my co-workers and myself seek to observe are eleven, not ten. They are as under:

Truth, non-violence, continence, non-possession, non-stealing, removal of untouchability, swadeshi, daily bread-labour, equality of the principal religions of the world, restraint on the palate, that is, eating to live—not living to eat, and fearlessness.

Yours sincerely,

J. MACK WILLIAMS, ESQ.
VASS, NORTH CAROLINA
U. S. A.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

371. LETTER TO DR. M. A. ANSARI

November 13, 1934

DEAR DR. ANSARI,

It was a great effort for me to resist the temptation to respond to your telegram as you would have liked me to do. But I felt that I must not respond. I resisted the temptation elsewhere also. I hope, therefore, that you will forgive me.

Could you send me replies to the enclosed questions?

Encl. 1

DR. M. A. ANSARI
DELHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

372. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

November 13, 1934

DEAR SATISBABU,

I have got the papers about the prize.[1] The very first condition is this: "The spinning-wheel should be handy in size and should be worked by hand or by foot in an ordinary Indian village cottage." The other two conditions that are also worth considering are these: "The machine should be such as can be made available in India at a price not exceeding Rs. 150."

"The construction of the machine should be substantial and capable of being used, say, 20 years, with occasional replacement of wearing parts. The replacement charges should be reasonable and may not exceed 5% of the cost of the machine per year."

Apart from these two conditions, Kirloskar's machine does not fulfil the first. Do you say otherwise?

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

373. LETTER TO PRAFULLA CHANDRA GHOSH

November 13, 1934

MY DEAR PRAFULLA,

I have your letter. Khan Saheb has seen it. He likes the programme. The second part should not be thought of before the first has been tried and [has] succeeded. But he cannot be in Calcutta by the 25th. He has to keep an engagement in Lucknow for the 1st December. His daughter is coming here on the 22nd from England. He has to fix up something about his son who is studying in Dehra Dun and who will meet him at the end of the month. Therefore he won't be ready to start from here before the 7th or 8th of December. I hope that won't matter.

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLI, p. 242.

If the vitamin charts referred to by you are easily available, you may pass on a copy to me. I hope you have received the draft that was promised.

Yours sincerely,

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

374. LETTER TO HARIBHAU PHATAK

November 14, 1934

MY DEAR HARIBHAU,

I have your letter. Of course, I shall make full use of your offer. Meanwhile I am passing on your letter to Sjt. Kumarappa.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1371

375. LETTER TO G. N. KANITKAR

November 14, 1934

DEAR BALUKAKA,

The list you have sent me is interesting. I hope you will take up sustained and silent work with a fixed determination not to give it up.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI G. N. (*alias* BALUKAKA) KANITKAR
SVAVALAMBAN RASHTRIYA PATHSHALA
CHINCHAWAD, POONA DT.

From a photostat: C.W. 965. Courtesy: G. N. Kanitkar. Also Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

376. LETTER TO R. A. RICHARDSON

November 14, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter of 25th September last. Before I can tell you whether you should send someone out here, I expect, as promised in your letter under reply, a further letter from you. We have an Agricultural Department here and an attempt is being made to ascertain through that Department the possibilities of improvement. The object that we have in view is to get better meat and only secondarily richer and more milk.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

R. A. RICHARDSON, ESQ.
FOLESHILL
FRANKLIN P.O.
EAST GRIQUALAND

From a copy: C.W. 7778-b. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

377. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

November 14, 1934

MY DEAR GHANSHYAMDAS,

I thought that I had already sent you the letter received from South Africa. I am sorry that it was overlooked. In clearing the file I came across the letter only last night. Here it is. I send you also [a] copy of my reply[2].

I see from a letter addressed by you to Mahadev that you expect me to pass some time on the new ground at Delhi. I

[1] The addressee, referring to Rhys Jones's letter to him written at Gandhiji's request about sheep-breeding in India, had asked whether the object was more milk, more meat or improved wool.

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

remember having told you that I would love to do so when you were ready to receive me, if at all I was free at that time. Of course, you are not yet ready as I understood from Thakkar Bapa. And it would be useless for me to be in Delhi in your absence. What is in store for me next month I do not know.

I would like you to telegraph when the operation is over.

Blessings from
BAPU[1]

Encl. 2

From the original: C.W. 7778. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

378. LETTER TO ESTHER MENON

Unrevised *November 14, 1934*

MY DEAR CHILD,

I have your letter. I am glad Nan is restored and no more wants to go to Denmark. Of course, there is no place for any child better than the mother's lap. But that is an ideal state which we may all strive after though we may ever fail to reach it.

I am sorry to hear about Maria. Who can replace her in her school except you? And just now you are out of the question. I wish a way out was found to enable her to go to Denmark and get the change she so badly needs.

I do not remember having received your letter on the Temple-entry Bill. Was it sent after my returning to Wardha? If you can reproduce the argument please do so and I shall endeavour to reply.

I did hear about the death of Jack Hoyland's son. Andrews was then here. We sent a joint cable[2] of condolence, and I had a full account of the death from Hoyland. It was a sad thing.

Mira returns on the 22nd bringing with her Khan Saheb's daughter who was having her education in London. Mary Barr is here from her village home and has brought a friend just arrived from England. Mary has taken wonderfully to the Ashram life. The weather here just now is superb. Ramdas returned with Ba four or five days ago. He is very weak, but

[1] The subscription is in Hindi.
[2] This is not available.

I think he will pick up strength here. Andrews is likely to be here in December, for a fortnight or so. How is Menon doing?

Love to you all.

BAPU

MRS. ESTHER MENON
TANJORE

From a photostat: No. 132. Courtesy: National Archives of India. Also *My Dear Child*, pp. 108-9

379. LETTER TO SHANKERLAL BANKER

November 14, 1934

MY DEAR SHANKERLAL,

I have gone through the papers in connection with the prize competition. Without prejudice to his right to get the prize on fulfilling the conditions laid down, it strikes me that the machine seems to be otherwise useful. We might ask Kirloskar Brothers to let us buy some machines so as to enable us to experiment on them and find out by experience their workability, also defects if any, and determine finally whether we can declare the machine as the prize-winner or whether we can, without giving the prize, provide a market for the machine. From all the descriptions I have received of the machine it appears to me to be complicated and too unworkable to win the prize. But we might be able to make use of the machine in order to supply the hand-spun yarn to our depots and to those who may desire to take in hand-spun yarn. We might also by making extensive experiments find out whether the yarn is equal to the mill yarn from the point of view of weavers. If you think that this may be done, I would send for a representative of Kirloskar Brothers and talk to him unless you think that the time is not ripe for such conversation or that if the conversations are carried on they should be carried on by you. Kirloskar Brothers did write to me offering to send a machine and Sjt. Kale so as to enable me to watch its working. I send you a copy of my reply[1] to them. But after having read the papers sent by you I feel that I ought to invite him to send the machine and Sjt. Kale[2] and I must make time to watch

[1] Not available

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Kirloskar Brothers", 24-11-1934.

the working of the machine and put someone also at the machine.

Encl. 1

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

380. LETTER TO G. SITARAMA SASTRY

November 14, 1934

DEAR SITARAMA SASTRY,

I have gone through your report on hand-pounded rice. I would like you to send me a sample of the rice and corresponding sample of the same quality of milled rice. Have you inquired about the difference in nutritive value between unpolished rice from the mills and unpolished rice pounded by the hand? Will you also describe the village instruments for husking the rice? What use do you make of the husk? What is the daily wage earned for husking for eight hours and the wage for spinning for the same time in the same area? What is the difference between the price of mill-husked rice and that of hand-husked rice? Is there any difference in the quantity eaten by rice-eaters of mill-husked rice and hand-husked rice? Is this activity self-supporting?

SHRI SITARAMA SASTRY
CHANDOLE (GUNTUR DT.)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

381. LETTER TO FRANCISCA STANDENATH

November 14, 1934

I have not been able to reply to your letter of 23rd September up to now, though I often think of you both[1]. Of course, 2nd October was the birthday, as it always is, according to the Christian calendar. How are you both keeping? I hope you are regularly getting your copy of *Harijan*. Mira is expected here on

[1] The reference is to the addressee's husband Frederic.

the 22nd. As you know, she went to America for a fortnight and did very good work there as also in England.

MRS. FRANCISCA STANDENATH
TRAUTMAUSDORFGASSE NO. 1
GRAZ STYRIA, AUSTRIA, EUROPE

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

382. LETTER TO HARIDAS T. MUZUMDAR

November 14, 1934

MY DEAR HARIDAS,

Please do not expect me to give you any messages. I have simply run dry just now, and have no desire to send any messages anywhere.

Yours sincerely,

HARIDAS T. MUZUMDAR, PH.D.
"INDIA TODAY AND TOMORROW"
20 VESEY STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

383. LETTER TO KESHAV

November 14, 1934

MY DEAR KESHAV,

I have just seen No. 21 of *The Servant of Christ*. It would appear that the Christa Seva Sangh has now altered its scope and has become a proselytizing agent. It seems to me to be unfortunate.

Yours sincerely,

BROTHER KESHAV
CHRISTA SEVA SANGH, AUNDH
KIRKEE

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

384. LETTER TO HAREKRUSHNA MAHTAB

November 14, 1934

MY DEAR MAHTAB,

I have your letter. I think you have to put up with your wife. You have to take her with you.

With reference to your proposed gift I would like you to think it over well before you do the thing. But if both you and your wife have decided to make the gift, I shall thankfully accept it provided that you would work at the place in conjunction with a committee.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MAHTAB
KARMA-MANDIR, AGARAPARA
BARHAT-TIRLOCHANPUR P. O., *via* BHADRAK (ORISSA)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

385. LETTER TO DR. S. C. ANAND

November 14, 1934

DEAR DR. ANAND,

I appreciate your offer to assist the All-India Village Industries Association that is being formed. I would like you also to tell me what work you and the two friends whom you mention will do. Can Mr. Goyal give me the comparative food values of *gur* and sugar? I am passing on your letter to Sjt. Kumarappa.

Yours sincerely,

DR. S. C. ANAND, M.B.B.S., LIEUT. I.M.S. (RETD.)
DASSAN STREET
DELHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

386. LETTER TO BISWA MOHAN SANYAL

November 14, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. The Association that is in course of formation will undoubtedly take whatever service you can give. But I would not think of advising you to give up your present occupation in becoming a whole-time worker for the Association. I do not yet know how many and on what scale paid workers would be taken.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI BISWA MOHAN SANYAL (KAVIRAJ)
5/3 A MADHU GUPTO LANE
BOWBAZAR, CALCUTTA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

387. LETTER TO G. MUKERJI

November 14, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

Your letter and copies of your prospectus. The prospectus has made no appeal to me. I shall be glad to know what work you can do. I am passing on your letter to Sjt. Kumarappa.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI G. MUKERJI, M.SC. (CALIFORNIA, U. S. A.)
BANSBERIA P. O.
DT. HUGHLY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

388. LETTER TO C. HANUMANTHA RAO

November 14, 1934

MY DEAR HANUMANTHA RAO,

I have your letter. You cannot use mill-yarn even for making tapes. Those who want to make tapes may well devote a little time to spinning the yarn required for tape.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI C. HANUMANTHA RAO
GOUTAMI SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM
SITANAGARAM, *via* KOVVUR

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

389. LETTER TO PURNA CHANDRA SARMAH

November 14, 1934

MY DEAR PURNA CHANDRA SARMAH,

I have your letter which you did well in writing to me. I would like you to give me your accounts up to date.

I hope that Annadababu has been to you to guide you regarding spinning.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI PURNA CHANDRA SARMAH
SECRETARY
THE CONGRESS RELIEF COMMITTEE
NOWGONG (ASSAM)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

390. LETTER TO V. BHASHYAM IYENGAR

November 14, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. Of course, I shall make full use of your generous offer. I am passing on your letter to Sjt. Kumarappa.

Yours sincerely,

DEWAN BAHADUR V. BHASHYAM IYENGAR
"VARDHANI"
KILPAUK, MADRAS

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

391. LETTER TO TEJ RAM

November 14, 1934

DEAR RAI BAHADUR,

I have gone through your scheme of improvement of villages. You will pardon me for saying that it does not appeal to me as practical. What are the improved tools that you have made? I would like you to follow the progress of the Association that is being formed and then say whether you can make any contribution to it. I am passing your letter on to Sjt. Kumarappa.

Yours sincerely,

RAI BAHADUR TEJ RAM
RETIRED EXECUTIVE ENGINEER
SANDA ROAD, LAHORE

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

392. LETTER TO M. D. SHAHANE

November 14, 1934

MY DEAR SHAHANE,

I was delighted to receive your offer on behalf of the Society's C. P. Branch. You may know that I am already in correspondence with Dravid.[1] He will see me at the time that will most suit him. And so far as I am concerned, all the members can join him when he comes. The earlier the better. Meanwhile, I am passing your letter on to Sjt. Kumarappa.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI M. D. SHAHANE, B.A.
SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY
CRADDOCK TOWN, NAGPUR

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

393. LETTER TO N. R. KOLARKAR

November 14, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Yours is an ambitious programme. It reads well. Of its possibilities, I, as a layman, can say nothing.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI N. R. KOLARKAR
KURLA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* "Letter to N. A. Dravid", p. 312.

394. LETTER TO DUNCAN GREENLEES

November 14, 1934

DEAR DUNCAN,

I was glad to receive your letter. I shall follow the development of your idea of rural school with great interest. Of course, I know your love for India. You may depend upon my exploiting it as much as I can. At the present moment Frontier is on the horizon. When a corporate fast comes, you will certainly find your name in the list of the Brotherhood. Both the Marys[1] are doing well.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

395. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO VICEROY

November 15, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

His Excellency has probably seen the public statement[2] I have made of my intention to visit the Frontier Province as soon as possible consistently with my preoccupations. I am likely to be free after the middle of December. My object in wishing to visit the Frontier Province is to be with its people, to know them at first hand and to understand how far the teaching of non-violence by Khan Saheb Abdul Ghaffar Khan has permeated his followers. It is also my intention to help them in the development of their village industries. I need hardly say that I have no desire whatsoever to inculcate among the Frontier people the spirit of disobedience (civil or otherwise) of authority.

Though I know that there is no legal bar against my entering the Frontier Province, I have no desire to do anything that may bring me in conflict with the Government. It is my earnest effort to avoid such conflict in so far as it is humanly possible.

[1] F. Mary Barr and Mary Chesley

[2] *Vide* p. 9.

Will you kindly ascertain His Excellency's wishes in the matter and let me know them?[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Home Department, Political, File No. 4/8/35, pp. 57-9. Courtesy: National Archives of India. Also *The Bombay Chronicle*, 12-12-1934

396. LETTER TO AGATHA HARRISON

November 15, 1934

DEAR AGATHA,

I have your letter together with a copy of your letter to Dr. Ansari. I understand all you say. Whatever is possible and desirable shall be done on the publication of the Joint Committee's Report[2].

I have not yet sent my letter about Utmanzai[3]. It is cooking itself, but pressure of work serves as a good excuse for putting it off.

If I don't write a separate letter to C. F. Andrews you please give him my love and tell him I have received his letter. I endorse his plan about coming here on a flying visit. In these days of actual flying, a flying visit through the fastest steamers afloat is, I suppose, a tame affair, though even the tame affair is too fast for me.

Here is a copy of my letter to the Viceroy.[4]

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1482

[1] On November 25 E. C. Mieville, Private Secretary to the Viceroy, replied: "His Excellency is glad that you have consulted him in this matter and notes that you have no desire to do anything that may bring you into conflict with the Government. He has discussed the question with the Government of the North West Frontier Province and with his Council and regrets that he and they are unanimously of opinion that it is not desirable for you to pay a visit to the Frontier Province at the present time. He trusts that you will act in accordance with his wishes."

[2] Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report on constitutional reform

[3] Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's village

[4] *Vide* the preceding item.

397. LETTER TO RABINDRANATH TAGORE[1]

November 15, 1934

DEAR GURUDEV,

The All-India Village Industries Association which is being formed under the auspices of the Indian National Congress will need the assistance of expert advisers in the various matters that will engage its attention. It is not intended to trouble them to meet together or even the members of the Association, but merely to advise the Association whenever reference is made to them in matters in which they possess special knowledge, e.g., in chemical analysis, food values, sanitation, distribution of village manufactures, improved methods of developing village industries, co-operation, disposal of village waste as manure, methods of village transport, education (adult and other), care of infants, and many other things too numerous to mention here.

Will you please allow your name to appear among such advisers of the All-India Village Industries Association? Naturally I approach you in the belief that the object of the Association and the method of approach to its task have your approval.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 4643

398. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

November 15, 1934

CHI. SHARMA,

I was expecting you to come; Narahari gave [your] message today. I have already answered your letter. How can I say that all are reassured? Vinoba however has no fears and wants you to come over here. You yourself have to put everyone at

[1] Similar letters were addressed to M. Vishvesvarayya, Purushottamdas Thakurdas, G. D. Birla and others.

ease. I have heard of the Surendra episode; it is rather painful. I can understand how the mistake occurred but it is not very significant. Even if you had read the letter I would not have taken it to imply your acceptance of his suggestions. You will see his suggestions when you come here. But of what use could other people's suggestions be to you? Only what appeals to your heart is the right thing for you. Come over; please do. You should delay no more.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha*, facing p. 116

399. INTERVIEW TO "THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN"

[November 15, 1934][1]

[GANDHIJI:] I am ready for your questions.

[CORRESPONDENT:] Does your retirement from the Congress mean that you take no more interest in politics?

[G.] No.

He had no intention of immediately returning to active politics, but it certainly did not mean retirement for the present, he explained, in guiding the new Village Industries Organization, in solving the Hindu-Moslem problem, and continuing the campaign against untouchability. He said:

All these movements will be non-political in the narrow sense of the term.

[C.] Supposing that the Joint Committee's report gives even less than the White Paper, what will be your reaction to it?

He was quite prepared to believe that the forecast was correct, but did not seem willing to commit himself. He contrasted the procedure actually followed by the British Government in regard to the reforms with that outlined by Mr. MacDonald in the House of Commons soon after the termination of the second session of the Round Table Conference.[2] The Prime Minister had spoken of a settlement with India's representatives (though, Mr.

[1] In the introductory paragraph the correspondent states that the interview began after Gandhiji signed the letters seeking assistance from "experts" to become advisers of the All-India Village Industries Association. *Vide* "Letter to Rabindranath Tagore", p. 350.
[2] Held in 1931; *vide* Vol. XLVIII.

Gandhi pointed out with emphasis, the Round Table delegates were only nominees of the British Government) to be initialled by both parties, and that settlement would then be the basis of Parliamentary legislation.

[C.] The same thing had happened in Ireland.

[G.] Yes, the Irish parallel does hold good—but not just yet.

At this point, I drew his attention to a recent statement by General Smuts in Britain. General Smuts had said that it was an act of faith on the part of the British to have conferred self-government on South Africa, and a similar act of faith in regard to India would, in his view, be justified by subsequent results.

[G.] I was in South Africa at the time and can see no similarity between the two cases. In the case of the Boers, it was not an act of faith, but making a virtue of necessity.

[C.] How?

[G.] The Boer War was a virtual defeat for the British. They were sick and weary of the fight, and their resources were getting exhausted. Of course, as an Imperial Power, they could have carried it on; but the tide was rising fast in favour of Campbell-Bannerman. King Edward's instructions to Lord Milner were to conciliate the Boers. I will grant that whatever was done was done not grudgingly but handsomely.

[C.] And so?

[G.] And so, I go back to the statement[1] I made some weeks ago to the Congress in Bombay—that is, no constitutional agitation will ever achieve freedom for a country.

Nothing was ever gained that way, according to his reading of French or British history, and he had put that point to Lord Lothian and a few others with whom he had discussed the Indian problem at Oxford three years ago.

Mr. Gandhi made it clear beyond doubt that his conviction was that Britain would never grant to India self-government of the kind South Africa enjoys today so long as she has "nothing to act upon".

She does not feel that civil resistance has been successful; there is a sense of exultation that the movement has been paralysed.

Pursuing the point further, I asked him whether apart from the circumstances under which self-government was granted to South Africa (and which do not, according to him, exist in India), the contents of that measure would satisfy him—in other words, what is the independence he aims at?

[1] *Vide* p. 215.

He did not seem disposed to discuss the question in detail. But he said the goal, for him, was defined in the concluding portion of his statement[1] at the second Round Table Conference; if membership of the British Commonwealth was forced upon India, he would resist it; but if it was voluntary partnership, terminable at will, he would have no objection to such an association. So far as he was concerned, it was the statement of an "eternal position".

But at present he is "immersed" in the building-up of the Village Industries Organization. His recent walking tour through the villages in connection with the anti-untouchability campaign was a revelation to him. The village people seemed to him "inert and despondent". Their poverty-stricken conditions have been making "a more and more forcible appeal". The revival of village industries would infuse life into occupations that are now dying out. He remarked:

Uninteresting it may be for some people, but it will be most solid work.

He is visualizing to himself the 700,000 villages of India, and his ambition is to spread out his workers in as many as possible.

Spinning, on which he has set his heart for many years, he confessed, is the lowest paid of rural occupations. But that will not come under the new organization, since it is being directed by the All-India Spinners' Association. More food for the villagers—and food of the right kind—is his principal aim. He makes no secret of his intention to start a campaign against mill-polished rice and mill-ground wheat. In this, he said, some distinguished research workers in diet problems agree with him. He will also encourage the use of coarse sugar (*gur*) as against the factory refined article. He will also give rural sanitation and hygiene a prominent place in his programme.

[G.] Again, there must be no exploitation of the movement either by politicians or by anyone else—not even in a distant fashion.

The Hindu, 25-11-1934

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLVIII, pp. 356-68.

400. *LETTER TO S. SATYAMURTI*

[Before *November 16, 1934*][1]

Your wire. My congratulations. These brilliant Congress victories[2] fill me with delight.

The Bombay Chronicle, 17-11-1934

401. *LALAJI ANNIVERSARY*[3]

When politics so called are forgotten, when many other transitory things which absorb public attention are also forgotten, Lalaji's great love for Harijans and his equally great services born of that love will be remembered, not only by the millions of Harijans, but by the many more millions of caste Hindus—indeed by the whole of India. Lalaji was a great humanitarian, and his humanitarianism covered the whole of humanity. Each succeeding anniversary should make Lalaji live more truly in our lives than the previous. Death for reformers like Lala Lajpat Rai is mere dissolution of the body. Their work and their ideas do not die with the body. Their power grows with time. We feel it more, as with the march of time it is seen outside of its setting in the weak flesh. The impermanent in man dies with him. The permanent part of him triumphs over the ashes and appears clearer to us for their removal. Let us cherish Lalaji's memory in that light and let Harijan Hindus and caste Hindus make a fresh resolve in Lalaji's memory to cleanse society of the curse of untouchability—the former by ridding themselves of the defects arising out of their suppression, and the latter by shedding the sin of the feeling of superiority, which belief in natal untouchability implies.

Harijan, 16-11-1934

[1] The report has the date-line "Madras, November 16".
[2] In elections to the Legislative Assembly
[3] Lajpat Rai died on November 17, 1928; *vide* Vol. XXXVIII.

402. *VILLAGE INDUSTRIES*

As the author of the Congress resolutions[1] on village industries and as the sole guide of the Association that is being formed for their promotion, it is but meet that I should, as far as possible, share with the public the ideas that are uppermost in my mind regarding these industries and the moral and hygienic uplift that is intimately associated with them.

The idea of forming the Association took definite shape during the Harijan tour as early as when I entered Malabar. A casual talk with a khadi worker showed to me how necessary it was to have a body that would make an honest attempt to return to the villagers what has been cruelly and thoughtlessly snatched away from them by the city-dwellers. The hardest hit among the villagers are the Harijans. They have but a limited choice of the industries that are open to the villagers in general. Therefore, when their industries slip away from their hands, they become like the beasts of burden with whom their lot is cast. Let the doubting reader peruse Prof. Malkani's article reproduced elsewhere[2] and he will realize the truth of my statement.

But the villagers in general are not much better off today. Bit by bit they are being confined only to the hand-to-mouth business of scratching the earth. Few know today that agriculture in the small and irregular holdings of India is not a paying proposition. The villagers live a lifeless life. Their life is a process of slow starvation. They are burdened with debts. The money-lender lends, because he can do no otherwise. He will lose all if he does not. This system of village lending baffles investigation. Our knowledge of it is superficial, in spite of elaborate inquiries.

Extinction of village industries would complete the ruin of the 7,00,000 villages of India.

I have seen in the daily Press criticism of the proposals I have adumbrated. Advice has been given to me that I must look for salvation in the direction of using the powers of nature that the inventive brain of man has brought under subjection. The critics say that water, air, oil and electricity should be fully uti-

[1] *Vide* "Speech at Subjects Committee Meeting, A. I. C. C.", pp. 220-6.

[2] It appeared in *Harijan*, 23-11-1934, under the title "The Story of the Desert of Sind".

lized as they are being utilized in the go-ahead West. They say that control over these hidden powers of nature enables every American to have 33 slaves.

Repeat the process in India and I dare say that it will thirty-three times enslave every inhabitant of this land, instead of giving everyone thirty-three slaves.

Mechanization is good when the hands are too few for the work intended to be accomplished. It is an evil when there are more hands than required for the work, as is the case in India. I may not use a plough for digging a few square yards of a plot of land. The problem with us is not how to find leisure for the teeming millions inhabiting our villages. The problem is how to utilize their idle hours, which are equal to the working days of six months in the year. Strange as it may appear, every mill generally is a menace to the villagers. I have not worked out the figures, but I am quite safe in saying that every mill-hand does the work of at least ten labourers doing the same work in their villages. In other words he earns more than he did in his village at the expense of ten fellow-villagers. Thus spinning and weaving mills have deprived the villagers of a substantial means of livelihood. It is no answer in reply to say that they turn out cheaper, better cloth, if they do so at all. For, if they have displaced thousands of workers, the cheapest mill cloth is dearer than the dearest khadi woven in the villages. Coal is not dear for the coal-miner who can use it there and then, nor is khadi dear for the villager who manufactures his own khadi. But if the cloth manufactured in mills displaces village hands, rice mills and flour mills not only displace thousands of poor women workers, but damage the health of the whole population in the bargain. Where people have no objection to taking flesh diet and can afford it, white flour and polished rice may do no harm, but in India, where millions can get no flesh diet even where they have no objection to eating it, if they can get it, it is sinful to deprive them of nutritious and vital elements contained in whole-wheat meal and unpolished rice. It is time medical men and others combined to instruct the people on the danger attendant upon the use of white flour and polished rice.

I have drawn attention to some broad glaring facts to show that the way to take work to the villagers is not through mechanization but that it lies through revival of the industries they have hitherto followed.

Hence the function of the All-India Village Industries Association must, in my opinion, be to encourage the existing industries

and to revive, where it is possible and desirable, the dying or dead industries of villages according to the village methods, i.e., the villagers working in their own cottages as they have done from times immemorial. These simple methods can be considerably improved as they have been in hand-ginning, hand-carding, hand-spinning and hand-weaving.

A critic objects that the ancient plan is purely individualistic and can never bring about corporate effort. This view appears to me to be very superficial. Though articles may be manufactured by villagers in their cottages, they can be pooled together and profits divided. The villagers may work under supervision and according to plan. The raw material may be supplied from common stock. If the will to co-operative effort is created, there is surely ample opportunity for co-operation, division of labour, saving of time and efficiency of work. All these things are today being done by the All-India Spinners' Association in over 5,000 villages.

But khadi is the sun of the village solar system. The planets are the various industries which can support khadi in return for the heat and the sustenance they derive from it. Without it, the other industries cannot grow. But during my last tour I discovered that, without the revival of the other industries, khadi could not make further progress. For villagers to be able to occupy their spare time profitably, the village life must be touched at all points. That is what the two Associations are expected to do.

Naturally they can have nothing to do with politics or political parties. The Congress, in my opinion, did well in making both the Associations autonomous and wholly non-political. All parties and all communities can combine to uplift the villages economically, morally and hygienically.

I know that there is a school of thought that does not regard khadi as an economic proposition at all. I hope that they will not be scared by my having mentioned khadi as the centre of village activities. I could not complete the picture of my mind without showing the inter-relation between khadi and the other village industries. Those who do not see it are welcome only to concentrate their effort on the other industries. But this, too, they will be able to do through the new Association, if they appreciate the background I have endeavoured to give in this article.

Harijan, 16-11-1934

403. LETTER TO DR. M. S. KELKAR

November 16, 1934

I have your letter. I have already told you that Satavlekar's[1] letters were destroyed by me because I was not interested in them. You are unnecessarily harsh on Satavlekar. He has nothing personal against you. After all, you went to Aundh because of his interest in you. You can't help a man forming honest opinions although they may be baseless. I would, therefore, advise you strongly to dismiss the matter from your mind and simply concentrate on proving your fitness for the job you have undertaken.

Ramdas had lost weight terribly. I have put him on unfertilized eggs obtained from Coimbatore. Do you know where I can get unfertilized eggs without difficulty? I have some addresses in Ahmedabad and Poona. If there is a nearer place that you know, I would like to get them from that place.

I return the correspondence with the Chief of Aundh.

DR. M. S. KELKAR
C/o J. G. GADRE, ESQ.
BHATWADI, BOMBAY 4

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

404. LETTER TO DAMODAR M. DAMLE

November 16, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I do not remember your thesis on "Damage to Crops by Wild Animals in India". It must have escaped my attention either because I was travelling when your thesis was received or I was fasting. I understand your different experiments. At the present moment my aim is nothing so high as yours. I have no special knowledge of the methods of growing rich crops and it would be beyond the scope, at the present moment, of the Association which

[1] Shripad Damodar Satavlekar

is in the process of formation. As to the destruction of crops by wild beasts it is essentially a matter for the Government and the legislators. This again falls outside the scope of the Association.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI DAMODAR M. DAMLE, B.A.,LL.B.
WUN (BERAR)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

405. LETTER TO S. S. PANDE

November 16, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Scheme or no scheme, if you have understood the seriousness of the resolution[1] and appreciate the method of approach to the work, I would like you to tackle the four things that are already before the public: pounding of rice by the hand, grinding of flour through the village *chakkis* purification and popularization of *gur* and restoration of better processes of tanning of hides in the villages.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI S. S. PANDE, B.A.,LL.B., PLEADER
KHANDWA (C. P.)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* "Speech at Subjects Committee Meeting, A. I. C. C.", pp. 220-6.

406. LETTER TO SUDHIR CHANDRA GHOSH

November 16, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

Did I know anything about your Ashram when I was in Orissa? How long have you been working? Are you in touch with Gopabandhubabu? Who are your workers?

Yours sincerely,

SHRI SUDHIR CHANDRA GHOSH
ARILO SEVASHRAM, VILL. USUMA
FULNAKHARA P. O., CUTTACK DT.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

407. LETTER TO DR. B. SUBRAHMANYAM

November 16, 1934

DEAR DOCTOR,

I had expected your letter and it has come. Of course, I expect you to do a great deal in the direction of village work. Have you already begun the work of re-introducing the *chakki*, the hand-pounding of rice, the village *kolu* for pressing oil, and such other obviously simple things? You should take a census of the industries of villages served by you and make them busy hives of small industries instead of being full of drones as they have become.

Yours sincerely,

DR. B. SUBRAHMANYAM
HARIJANA SEVASRAMAM
SITHANAGARAM, *via* KOVVUR
WEST GODAVARY DT.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

408. LETTER TO HILDA CASHMORE

November 16, 1934

DEAR SISTER,

I have your undated letter. I shall be delighted to see you and Miss Dorothy Hersey on 4th December next at 3.30 p.m. I hope the time will suit you.

Yours sincerely,

MISS HILDA CASHMORE
FRIENDS' CENTRE
ITARSI (C. P.)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

409. LETTER TO GOVERNING DIRECTOR, PRINCE PEOPLE & CO.

November 16, 1934

GENTLEMEN,

I thank you for your letter of 11th instant. I would like to know what work you have already done and what you think you can do in respect of introducing the use of *chakki*-ground flour, hand-husked rice and village *gur* in your own lives and in the villages under your care. I would like also to see the constitution of your company.

Yours sincerely,

GOVERNING DIRECTOR
PRINCE PEOPLE & CO.
DARBHANGA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

410. *LETTER TO MANEKLAL AND RADHA KOTHARI*

November 16, 1934

CHI. MANEKLAL AND RADHA,

I got the letters from both of you. May the New Year prove prosperous for you. Ramdas has returned here. He can be said to be a little better.

Blessings from
BAPU

SJT. MANEKLAL
KHIRASTA, *via* RAJKOT
KATHIAWAR

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./III

411. *LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI*

November 17, 1934

DEAR BROTHER,

Though our hearts are one we seem to be living in different worlds of thought and action. This knowledge has been oppressing me of late. Just now I have an offer from the Servants of India Branch in Nagpur of full co-operation in the village industries work. I do not know how far this will materialize. But the offer is full-hearted and I shall make the most of it if we agree when the time for execution comes. But I am not sure that such co-operation will have your full approval. I do not know how far the movement for return to the village *chakki* and the rice husking mill and the like appeals to you.

This is merely to share my thoughts with you and to tell you how I long for your co-operation at some point of my many activities. And yet I want nothing from you that does not command the full approval of your reason. You are too true to act otherwise than in accordance with your reason. Your truthfulness is far more precious for me than your mere co-operation in my activities.

With love.[1]

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

Letters of Srinivasa Sastri, p. 272

412. *LETTER TO MANZAR ALI*

November 17, 1934

DEAR MANZAR ALI,

My postcard and your letter have crossed each other. Very strange! I never dreamt that you had prompted Sundarlal. Do I not know his effusiveness? His letter gave me the impression that he also offered his services together with yours. So I told him that I have no faith in either of you doing plodding manual work, but that if my fear was proved to be baseless I should be delighted. In reply he wrote saying that he had never any intention of offering his services. He simply wanted to come if it was so required to facilitate your approach. So I wrote to you the post-card which I hope you received. I sent it care of Uma Nehru not knowing your Unao address. If you will do plodding work without being fatigued, I would be delighted to inspan you and if you feel the need to come here to understand what is required you can come. If, however, you have understood the thing, begin operations at once as many have done on reading my statement[2]. In the four things I have suggested I have given an ample preliminary programme which, if it was taken up enthusiastically, would put a few crore rupees into the pockets of the villagers without

[1] In his reply dated November 23, the addressee wrote: "I have sent copies of your letter to a few intimate associates. If their replies indicate any more hopeful lines of co-operation than are now perceptible I shall address you again. To my unaided mind, you appear to be opening the first campaign of an endless and quixotic war against modern civilization. Long ago you proclaimed yourself its sleepless enemy, and now you would, if you could, turn it back on the course it has pursued for several millennia. I reel at the mere thought.

A deep-lying *affinity* calls us together occasionally, but life is heedless and draws us apart with no non-violent hands."

[2] *Vide* pp. 303-4.

any very great effort or spectacular demonstration.

SHRI MANZAR ALI
"DOODH KI KOTHI"
GANGAGHAT, (UNAO DT.)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

413. LETTER TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM

November 17, 1934

MY DEAR JAIRAMDAS,

I have your letter. I shall await your further letter or your arrival before I write to Seth Shivratan.

From your letter I infer that Santram did not meet Kamalani at all, and he has sailed with Mirabehn before he could meet Kamalani. I am glad Anand is free.

I have bad news about Gidwani[1]. Gangabehn wrote a pathetic letter. I sent a telegram in reply, and I have now full particulars from Gidwani. There seems to be no danger, but he is bed-ridden.

I hope Kumarappa gave you all the particulars about the proposed Board of the Association.

I do hope that the publication of the constitution will now be expedited.

SHRI JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM
BOMBAY 6

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] Choithram Gidwani

414. LETTER TO J. C. PANDIT

November 17, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am afraid I can render no help.

Yours sincerely,

J. C. PANDIT, B.SC., C.E.
EX-ENGINEER, BAREILLY DT. BOARD
DABBI BAZAR, MOHALLA SARIN, KUCHA ZARGRAN
LAHORE

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

415. LETTER TO TARA SINGH

November 17, 1934

DEAR MASTER TARA SINGH,

I was delighted to have your letter. I am here till 15th December I hope. The earlier you come the better. Khan Saheb, his brother and his son would be leaving here on the 24th for a brief tour in U. P. They may return about the 4th December. Khan Saheb after staying with me for about four days is likely to go to Bengal.

Yours sincerely,

MASTER TARA SINGH
22 ELPHINSTONE CIRCLE
BOMBAY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

416. LETTER TO PANCHANAN BASU

November 17, 1934

MY DEAR PANCHANAN,

I was glad to have your letter of 13th November. I expect to hear further from you. Of course, I shall take from you all the work that you can give. I am passing your letter on to Sjt. Kumarappa.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI PANCHANAN BASU
KHADI MANDAL
E 75 COLLEGE STREET MARKET, CALCUTTA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

417. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

November 17, 1934

BHAI MUNSHI,

You have spared no effort. See that you do not fall ill. I hope you did not have to spend much. It will be a great achievement if both win. Your victory[1] seems certain.

I am looking forward to Lilavati's visit.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I should like the constitution to be finalized as soon as possible.

SHRI K. M. MUNSHI, ADVOCATE
VASANTVILAS
RIDGE ROAD, BOMBAY

From Gujarati: C.W. 7561. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

[1] In the election to the Central Legislative Assembly

418. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

November 17, 1934

CHI. SHARMA,

You have the following alternatives:

(1) To live at Nimu's place.
(2) To live at Janakibehn's place.
(3) To live in a room on Jamnalalji's farm.
(4) To live in one of the surrounding villages.
(5) To live with Surendra if he agrees.
(6) To live with Narandas.
(7) To live in Khurja with your brothers.

You can choose from amongst these. Possibly the seventh is the best. And it is the most natural of course. But maybe it is in your best interest to live away from your family. Send the enclosed letter[1] to your brother.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha*, between pp. 116 and 117

419. LETTER TO BEHARILAL SHARMA

November 17, 1934

BHAI BEHARILAL,

You have sent Rs. 100 telegraphically to Sharma.[2] I totally disapprove of it. There could have been no difficulty in meeting all his expenses from here and there is none even now. But I do not wish to throw away so much money if you can shoulder the burden without being inconvenienced. I want even more funds from those who can give. Have no worry for Sharma though his case is undoubtedly a difficult one. But it is all right

[1] *Vide* the following item.

[2] Before leaving Sabarmati for Wardha, Hiralal Sharma had requested his brother to send some money to enable him to go to Khurja.

as he is a sincere man. Tell me, why did you have to send the money telegraphically?

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]
Give me news of Draupadi and the boys.

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha*, between pp. 118 and 119.

420. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

November 17, 1934

CHI. SHARMA,

You may give your answer[1] tomorrow evening or even later.

Where is the figure '8' that you want to be changed to indicate the month '11'? Whatever it is, you may take it as done.[2]

I have added a little more to the letter to your brother and you may do the rest.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha*, facing p. 118

421. LETTER TO H. P. MODY

November 18, 1934

DEAR MR. MODY,

Here is another appeal for help which only mills can render. This time it is from afflicted Assam. The enclosed speaks for itself. You will find a summary of the contents attached to the full statement from Assam. I do hope that blankets will be sent on behalf of the Association.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1
H. P. MODY, ESQ.
MILL-OWNERS' ASSOCIATION
BOMBAY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* "Letter to H. L. Sharma", p. 367.
[2] *Vide* the preceding item in which the month '8' was corrected to '11'.

422. LETTER TO J. L. GOHEEN

November 18, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. I have now received the parcel of eggs for which I thank you. Though you have sent me no bill for the eggs, I shall thank you to tell me at what price they are sold. I shall send the container back as soon as possible.

I have your second letter. Please give my regards to your pupils who, I hope, will be discharged as competent workers. If you will render me a regular bill, I should like you to send me eighteen eggs per week till further instructions. You can make the commencement on the receipt of this.

Yours sincerely,

J. L. GOHEEN, ESQ.
SANGLI INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL SCHOOL
AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN MISSION
SANGLI (M. S. M. RLY.)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

423. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

November 18, 1934

CHI. NARANDAS,

Read the accompanying letters and give them to Harilal. Give him from time to time what you think proper.

If you have any comments to offer on the new scheme for village industries, please do so. How are things there?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I. Also C.W. 8423. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

424. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

November 18, 1934

CHI. JAMNALAL,

Your ear [causes] worry . . .[1]. Something will have to be thought about it. I do not know how this has happened. I am not unhappy, nor do I worry. I see darkness all around. I shall be satisfied if it disappears. Apart from that, I do not worry about what will happen. Though I have had letters sent to both the doctors, how is it that there has been no reply at all from either?

And now about the Industries Association. . . . So far as I remember, I do not know what you desire at present concerning the buildings you had intended for the Maganlal Memorial [*sic*]. . . . I see that the Memorial . . . consistent with this plan. In every village . . . for at many . . . in Wardha . . . only villages in the area, very much. . . . The air also is good. Geographically it is the centre of India. It has the facility of a railway line. From this point of view, I like Wardha. Your being here also is a temptation. I do not wish to involve you in this. All the same, I am acting on the assumption that all of you will be here. Think over the matter from this point of view and let me know how you feel.

There is a wire from Rameshwar regarding Ghani. . . .

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

My letters . . . .

[From Gujarati]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 142

[1] Omissions in this letter are as in the source.

425. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

November 18, 1934

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I see from your three letters that you have not got a clear picture of the Village Industries Association in your mind. The idea behind it is that we should exclusively buy from villages whatever articles they can produce. We can thereby repay a little of the debt that we owe to them. Whether or not we shall be able to do this is another matter. We need not proceed on the supposition that we shall not. What was started by only six or seven of us has now spread all over the country. If it is our duty to do what I am suggesting, then all of us should use pens, ink, knives, soap, jaggery and sugar manufactured in villages and flour and rice ground or milled in villages. I have mentioned these things only as examples. Maybe we shall not carry out this idea in respect of many of the things enumerated; if, however, we believe that it is our moral duty to use such articles, we shall be putting crores of rupees into the pockets of villagers and the importance of villages will increase. Only then shall we be able to establish the swaraj of our dreams, devoted to the welfare of villages, and only then will it be non-violent swaraj. All other things can be deduced from this.

The Association can function only if it gets five or six full-time workers. We are trying to attract for it some Congress-minded persons who are not regular Congressmen. Of course some of the workers will have to be Congressmen. I am trying to persuade Jairamdas, hoping that Rajendrababu and you will be able to spare him and that he will agree to be released. If he cannot do this work, he will be of no service. I am discussing the same problem with Khan Saheb. I don't know what Jalbhai's attitude will be. If he refuses, I intend to invite Khurshed. Such at any rate are my dreams. I am indifferent whether or not they are realized. They help to preserve my peace of mind. If you are now free please come over. The treatment of your nose must get priority, of course. How many workers from Gujarat may I engage in this work? Raojibhai has written to me and expressed his willingness. I have replied to him saying that, even if he can be free, he can come only if permitted by you.

We shall also have to think about the headquarters.

The election results were really wonderful.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 141-2

426. *NOTE TO H. L. SHARMA*

[*November 18, 1934*][1]

CHI. SHARMA,

You should put off going today.[2]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha*, facing p. 120

427. *NOTE TO H. L. SHARMA*

[After *November 18, 1934*][3]

I am not angry.[4] So long as I consider you to be my son it is a sin to be angry with you. Of course, I was unhappy and realized my responsibility.

As is my wont, [I hold that] for me your case[5] is as important as the question of swaraj.

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha*, between pp. 118 and 119

[1] As indicated by the addressee

[2] The addressee had sought Gandhiji's permission to leave for Khurja.

[3] This was written after the preceding item.

[4] The addressee had asked his brother for money which had made Gandhiji unhappy. *Vide* "Letter to Beharilal Sharma", pp. 367-8.

[5] The addressee had asked what Gandhiji meant by 'case'; *vide* "Letter to Beharilal Sharma"; pp. 367-8.

428. LETTER TO P. N. RAJBHOJ

November 19, 1934

MY DEAR RAJBHOJ,

I have your letter. I have nothing more to add to what I have already written to you. I cannot advise you to enter the Poona Municipality. I repeat what I have told you that you should do some constructive work yourself and with that end in view master a trade.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI P. N. RAJBHOJ
207 GHORPADE PETH
POONA 2

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

429. LETTER TO K. S. VENKATARAMANI

November 19, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Of course, I had your book *Kandar—the Patriot* in Yeravda. But there was no copy here. All the books received in Yeravda went to the Ahmedabad Municipality. I remember having read several chapters of the book. Is it not the proper thing for you to translate your own convincing argument into action?

Yours sincerely,

SHRI K. S. VENKATARAMANI, M.A., B.L.
ADVOCATE, SANKARAPURAM
MYLAPORE, MADRAS

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

430. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

November 19, 1934

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I got your letter about your birthday. You need fear no ill fortune in your life. You are destined to live long and do much service. I asked Radhakisan and learnt from him about a less expensive place as an alternative to the garden at Wardha[1]. I think it will do.

Blessings from
BAPU

SJT. JAMNALAL BAJAJ
BIRLA HOUSE, MOUNT PLEASANT ROAD
MALABAR HILL, BOMBAY 6

[From Gujarati]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 142

431. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

November 19, 1934

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I have your letter.

How can I say what I need? Whenever there is a question of a hundred or two or a thousand I ask you for it. But by taking up the huge work of village industries I have increased my own commitments. Thus I can only say that you may give me whatever is left after making other essential donations.

The formation of a board for village industries is presenting some difficulties. I want the board to be very small, to consist of a minimum of three members and a maximum of ten. I want men who have full faith in its aims and can devote more or less their full time to it. And this precisely is giving me some trouble. Have you any ideas in this respect?

Do you know Rajkumari Amrit Kaur?

[1] Maganwadi

I have for a long time desired to go and live in Utmanzai, the village of Khan Saheb. I have sent a letter to Delhi on Thursday.[1] I have given the reason for a visit to the Frontier Province and have asked if there is any objection to my going there. Let us see what reply I get.

When is the operation to take place?

Blessings from
BAPU

From Hindi: C.W. 8001. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

432. LETTER TO RAJENDRA PRASAD

November 19, 1934

BHAI RAJENDRA BABU,

Your letter. If you can get away from there, do come here without going anywhere else. The weather is fine and you will have rest and of course peace.

The veracity of Agatha Harrison's statement can be determined only when the Report[2] comes in. Satyamurti has wired that the Working Committee should meet somewhere for this very object. It might be good to announce the meeting just now. We too will of course have to say something but I cannot participate in it as I would not like to say anything publicly.

I am sending a wire just now about your coming.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Hindi]

A. I. C. C. File No. 3-a 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Viceroy", pp. 348-9.

[2] Of the Joint Parliamentary Committee

433. LETTER TO G. V. MAVALANKAR

November 20, 1934

BHAI MAVALANKAR,

You cannot be permitted to engage yourself exclusively in minting money. I hope you will agree to shoulder the burden of the Harijan Ashram and the dairy. We must find the expenses of the Harijan Ashram and of Harijan work in Gujarat from Gujarat itself. I am sure in my mind that the burden of begging this sum should not have to be borne by Sardar. He will contribute something voluntarily, but refuses to put himself to trouble on that account. My purpose in inviting you, Ranchhodlal and Shankerlal is that either all of you should pay the expenses or beg for them. I hope you will not want me to beg from outside Gujarat. And, besides, how far can I be depended upon? Before long you and I will know where I am. Please, therefore, spare some time from the business of money-making and give a little of it to Harijan work and a little to the service of the cow. If, however, my guess is wrong and if at present you cannot spare a single moment for philanthropic work from the task of earning money to pay off your debt, in case you are in debt, tell me frankly and I will not then pester you. I have now reached my 66th year making people work beyond their capacity. How can the old hardened habit leave completely, although I have now grown somewhat indifferent? I am leaving the Congress, yielding to the feeling that no one should work beyond his capacity but I have not yet parted company from my personal co-workers. To achieve this I must stop wielding my pen and resort to silence or I must work only through our journals. But I am not yet powerful enough to work in this manner. I have not yet completely got over my infatuation, and so I am driven to write letters such as this. But I warn you not to have any false sense of shame on my account. I shall be content if you do whatever you can as a matter of dharma. I have written, much to the same effect, to Ranchhodlal and Shankerlal.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1240

434. LETTER TO S. SATYAMURTI

[Before *November 21, 1934*][1]

Your suggestion[2] appeals to me, but am I now any good as an adviser in these matters? My mind is shunted off these things. You have Sjt. Rajagopalachariar nearby. Then you have the President, and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel who is as good. Then, of course, Dr. Ansari too is there. Don't misunderstand. I attach great importance to these. But I am not a man just now. Do save me from having to tax my mind about such political affairs.

The Bombay Chronicle, 22-11-1934

435. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

[Before *November 21, 1934*][3]

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

Mirabehn will land in Bombay on Wednesday. Please make what arrangements you think proper for her reception. And in any case send her off on the same day. If you can come with her, please do so. The problem of constituting the Board has still not been solved. Selection of the President is presenting serious difficulties. As regards the office, I am inclined towards Wardha—I mean the head office. There will have to be many other centres, of course, one for each province or district or even taluk. This will depend on how the work progresses. For Gujarat, the decision will also depend on how far you can go along with the idea. But this when we meet.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 142

[1] The report has the date-line "Madras, November 21".

[2] The addressee, according to the report, had suggested in a telegram that an early meeting of the Congress members of the Assembly be called to consider prompt action on the Joint Parliamentary Committee Report. *Vide* also "Letter to Rajendra Prasad", p. 375.

[3] The source has the date November 29, 1934 but Mirabehn landed in Bombay on November 21, 1934.

436. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

November 21, 1934

DEAR SISTER,

I have your very frank and precise letter. I regret to know that you were in frail health. I want a band of persons who would devote themselves and their time purely to the work, move about and would go to the villages and try progressively to supply their own needs through the villages unlike as we do now. I see that I must not expect these things from you and must therefore deny myself the privilege of your close association. Nevertheless, I will avail myself of your offer to do whatever you can in the Punjab. Do you keep yourself in touch with what is being written in the pages of *Harijan*? If you do not, please let me know and I shall see that you are supplied with copies.

I fear I shall not be in Karachi at the time of your conference[1]. I shall however hope that having come all the way from London Dr. Maude Royden will not leave without seeing me but I wish you could come with her.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original: C.W. 3514. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6323

437. LETTER TO G. NARASIMHACHARI

November 21, 1934

MY DEAR NARASIMHACHARI,

I have your letter. Students can help by visiting villages in their neighbourhood and studying the industries of those villages, by doing sanitation work themselves, by organizing the industries which they can easily handle, and by using such

[1] All-India Women's Conference

articles as are manufactured in their villages in the place of articles turned out in cities.

I cannot contemplate degeneration prevailing in the Congress ranks, nor have I the slightest feeling that, if it sets in, I can prevent it.

With reference to your remark on the Norway paper for typing, it was inevitable. When you want multiple copies, we have nothing suitable to be had in the swadeshi line. Therefore, so far as typing is concerned, I freely take the paper that is to be usually had. For writing and other purposes nothing but swadeshi paper is being used, and I am now arranging to get hand-made paper.

Yours sincerely,

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

438. LETTER TO G. MUKERJI

November 21, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

You should follow what appears in the Press from time to time and guide yourself accordingly. I would not trouble you to come here, at least for the time being.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI G. MUKERJI, M.SC.
BANSBERIA P. O.
HOOGHLY DT.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

439. LETTER TO BENODE PAUL

November 21, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

The duty of village workers will be to study the industries of the villages they cover and help the villagers to revive or introduce such industries that would utilize their idle hours and put a few coppers in their pockets. Of course, part-time workers will be quite welcome, and those who cannot contribute by way of work will contribute cash wherever they can.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI BENODE PAUL
15 BRAJANATH MITTER LANE
CALCUTTA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

440. LETTER TO SATISH MITTER

November 21, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your warm letter and a copy of your book which, I know, I shall read with interest and profit. If you have anything new in the supplement of your book, you will please pass it on to me. I see you have missed the most important conchshell bangles of Bengal.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI SATISH MITTER
2 LOUDON STREET
CALCUTTA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

441. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

November 21, 1934

CHI. NARANDAS,

I hope you have returned after inspecting the dairy. A letter for Harilal is enclosed.[1] Read it and pass it on to him. Give him a room in the school if you can spare one. Give him enough to meet his needs. We cannot pay more than Rs. 50 a month just now. By and by we want to accustom him to living within even less than that. It is not necessary that he should save anything for repaying his debts. If he overcomes his weakness of mind and you feel that he can be trusted, we will pay off his debts. But that will be after some time. What has been done about his eyes and teeth?

N.[2] has turned out to be a worthless woman. She was begging for help from all sorts of people in Bombay. She had set herself up as a public worker. I didn't like her ways at all. L.[3] has done the same. There was nothing but show in the whole thing. L.'s aspirations are quite high. But she is unsteady and has a good measure of pride too. She lacks strength of mind to keep her word. She is always full of plans. Now she is eager to stay on here for a month or so. I have categorically refused my consent. She will leave this place on the 7th at the latest and go to Bombay. I shall be here for this month at any rate. I don't know what will happen after that.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I. Also C.W. 8424. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

[1] The letter is not available.

[2]&[3] The names have been omitted.

442. LETTER TO ASAF ALI[1]

[Before *November 22, 1934*][2]

MY DEAR ASAF ALI,

God is great. I can trace nothing but the hand of God in all these successes. May we deserve them! How I wish your success will lead to heart unity between the two brothers—Hindu and Mussalman.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

The Hindustan Times, 23-11-1934

443. LETTER TO M. V. ABHYANKAR[3]

[Before *November 22, 1934*]

MY DEAR ABHYANKAR,

Your precious wire. The Congress is not dead. Your trial commences now. You must keep yourself in a fit condition.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

The Hitavada, 22-11-1934

[1] The addressee had been elected to the Assembly from the Delhi Joint Constituency on the Congress ticket.

[2] The letter was released to the Press at Delhi on Thursday, November 22, 1934.

[3] The addressee had been elected to the Assembly.

444. *LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU*

November 22, 1934

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I sent you a letter some days ago simply inquiring about your health. Mummy who came in yesterday tells me you do not get letters except what is sent in Kamala's packet. I should like to know the rules regulating your correspondence. Please let me know how you are doing and how you are passing your time.

Love.

BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1934. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Also *A Bunch of Old Letters*, p. 119

445. *LETTER TO B. SHIVA RAO*

November 22, 1934

MY DEAR SHIVA RAO,

I have your letter and a copy of the *Madras Mail*. I will return the paper to you after I have read it.

I think you know the scope of the Association and the method of achieving its object. Would you care to serve on the Central Board? If you will, have you got a living belief in the formula underlying the object, namely, that we must go to the villages in search of all the articles of daily use, and not make villages look to the cities for the supply of such articles? That is to say, do you recognize the necessity, so far as it is possible, of eliminating the city factories and mills which are fast displacing the village industries, and supplying the daily wants of the villagers thereby confining 90 per cent of the population of India to bare agriculture? Do you consider the realization of this object worthy of your making it the main business of your life, and will you give the Board most of your time? If you will, I would like you to serve on the Board. The idea that we are evolving is to make the Board as small as possible, consistent with its efficient working, and to make it consist of

practically whole-timers. Will you please wire your reply to this letter?

SHRI B. SHIVA RAO
MADRAS

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

446. LETTER TO AGATHA HARRISON

November 22, 1934

MY DEAR AGATHA,

It was quite like you to have put your whole soul into sending little Mehrtaj to Brindisi.[1] It was a fine contribution to Indo-British understanding. The Khan Brothers are a rare type of humanity. The more I see them, the more I love them. And inasmuch [as] you have done this little and yet great thing for them, you have done it for all India. That simple bit of service is its own reward. Thanks or any outward expression is a poor substitute. Mira is working well and so is her ward.

Well, the preliminary acknowledgement from Delhi has come.[2] If there is any development I shall use the cable.

About the J[oint] Committee's report, you must have seen my opinion.[3] One who has retired from Congress can have no opinion for public consumption. You do not need my private opinion.

I am coming closer to Amrit Kaur.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1481

[1] At the top of the letter the addressee has noted: "The Frontier Gandhi's daughter Mehrtaj was in London with her aunt. She was to travel from Brindisi with Mirabehn. . . . Mehrtaj lost her passport just before she was due to sail. I went to the India Office and asked their swift help in securing another one." (G.N. 1481)

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Viceroy", pp. 348-9.

[3] *Vide* "Interview to Associated Press", p. 386.

447. *LETTER TO S. RADHAKRISHNAN*

November 22, 1934

DEAR SIR RADHAKRISHNAN,

I thank you for your letter and the copy of your Convocation address to the Allahabad University. I have read in the papers your address containing your generous reference to myself.

I had your last letter as also a copy of *Contemporary British Philosophy*. I had hoped to be able to send you something in acknowledgment of your letter and to return your book. But I have not had a moment to spare. Fortunately you have given me ample time, and I expect to send you something by that date.

PROF. SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN
ANDHRA UNIVERSITY
WALTAIR

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

448. *LETTER TO SADULLAH KHAN*

November 22, 1934

MY DEAR SADULLAH KHAN,

I have your letter. I am looking forward to receiving and testing the *gur* sent by you.

You have all worked wonders in connection with Dr. Khan Saheb's election.

SHRI SADULLAH KHAN
DR. KHAN SAHEB'S ELECTION BOARD OFFICE
QISSAKHANI BAZAR, PESHAWAR CITY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

449. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS

November 22, 1934

I haven't read the J. P. C. Report.[1] I hope to be able to read that at an early date, but I don't propose to make any public reference to it.

Having retired from the Congress, it would ill become of me to pronounce any opinion upon it at the present juncture. My opinion on the White Paper is well known and I have seen nothing to change it. Beyond this I may not go.

The Hindustan Times, 23-11-1934

450. IN THE THROES OF BIRTH

The All-India Village Industries Association takes a long time to be born. All the consolation I can give the public is that all the available time at the disposal of J. C. Kumarappa and myself is being devoted to the task. Three questions confront us: location of the Central Office, composition of the Central Board and agencies.

Though all these questions worry us, that of the composition of the Board causes the greatest trouble. The task is tremendous. The goal is great. Rejuvenation of villages in the face of the current fashion of highly developed mechanization and centralization is no easy job. We have, therefore, come to the conclusion that the Board must be composed of only a few earnest persons who have a living faith in the programme of the Association, who have an aptitude for the task and who will give the Board much, if not the whole, of their time. We are trying to find persons, irrespective of parties, who will shoulder the burden.

So far as branches are concerned, we have tentatively come to the conclusion that the districts should be the units directly responsible for the Central Board. Since the British official districts are not all equal in area or population, we will not hesitate to subdivide them where necessary. The predominant considera-

[1] The Joint Parliamentary Committee Report was released to the Press on November 22, 1934.

tion will be decentralization and creation of a living touch with the villagers. There will be direct connection with the States wherever they will permit it. We want to serve all the villages of geographical India.

There is difficulty, too, regarding choice of the Central Office. We would gladly establish it in a village, if that is possible. But our choice is limited by two considerations. We do not want to invest the meagre funds, that have been promised or have already come, in land and brick and mortar. We have, therefore, to confine our selection to such places where we can get the required accommodation for the asking. The second limitation is that the Central Office should be near the main line of the railways and should be easily accessible from all the parts of India. But let me not anticipate events. I have shared enough with the public to enable those who will to guide us with advice. We invite the prayers of all who are in sympathy with our difficult mission.

Harijan, 23-11-1934

451. VILLAGE INDUSTRIES IN GUNTUR

Sjt. Sitarama Sastry of Vinaya Ashram, Repalle, Guntur District, Andhradesha, in offering the services unreservedly of the whole of his Ashram to the All-India Village Industries Association, says:

> The following items of work suggest themselves to me and I commend them to you. (1) Shoe-making, (2) hand-ginning of seed cotton, (3) preparation of jaggery from the juice of palmyra tree, (4) improved pottery, (5) hand-made paper, (6) stone-dressing, (7) hand-made groundnut kernels, (8) extracting oil and other products from the outer rinds of oranges, (9) preservation of palmyra fruits.
>
> The second item will also help in the khadi industry; the third will help in the solution of the drink problem. Palmyras are grown in large numbers in this district, and the ripe fruit of these trees has been analysed and found to contain valuable elements of food. Oranges are also grown on a large scale in this district and are cheap. The outer rind is thrown away as useless, but it is really useful from the commercial point of view. It contains an inflammable oil and is also sold in the market as orange peel. Kondaveedu is a village in this district which has long been famous for hand-paper. The District Congress Committee tried to revive this industry in 1921, but the attempt was given up, owing to the indifference of the workmen. A special stone

> is available in Palnad which is locally dressed and is used for paper weights, for flooring and walls and table slabs. It is ordinarily called Palnad marble. Hand-made groundnut kernels are sold in the South and are cheaper than machine-made kernels. Groundnut crop is raised in several parts of the district. Mr. T. Ramaswamy Gupta of Bezwada, a *vakil* who gave up his profession for spiritual *sadhana*, is responsible for improved pottery, and the earthenware prepared under his directions are far superior to the articles made by the country potter!

This is not the only or the first offer. It is a matter of great joy to me that many such offers have been received from almost all the parts of India. This happens to be the latest and contains the information which other workers would value. I would recommend all the workers who are offering services to commence work without waiting for directions. The idea behind the village industries scheme is that we should look to the villages for the supply of our daily needs and that, when we find that some needs are not so supplied, we should see whether with a little trouble and organization they cannot be profitably supplied by the villagers. In estimating the profit, we should think of the villager, not of ourselves. It may be that in the initial stages, we might have to pay a little more than the ordinary price and get an inferior article in the bargain. Things will improve, if we will interest ourselves in the supplier of our needs and insist on his doing better and take the trouble of helping to do better.

Harijan, 23-11-1934

452. LETTER TO M. VISVESVARAYYA[1]

November 23, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your prompt reply. I see that we hold perhaps diametrically opposite views. My conviction based upon extensive experience of village life is that in India at any rate for generations to come, we shall not be able to make much use of mechanical power for solving the problem of ever-growing poverty of the masses. We are too many and we have so many idle hours at our disposal that it would be suicidal to make use of mechanical power and allow human power to run to waste. The question of leisure after toil comes into being when people

[1] This was displayed at the Mysore Pavilion of the Gandhi-Darshan Exhibition held in New Delhi in 1969-70.

learn the art of making effective use of their waste hours. Such being my view the extract that you have sent me from Stalin has no appeal for me at all. The more expressive extract from Lenin makes matters worse for me. It is like much cry and little wool. I could be no party to engaging the villagers in producing army machinery and army stores. If India has no desire to take part in the gory exploitation of unmechanized regions of the earth, she has no need to fear aggression from foreign countries. My dream may remain wholly unrealized and India may become a willing or unwilling partner in the sin of exploitation. Nevertheless I would use the whole of the power that God may vouchsafe to me in stemming the onrush of the violent current. I should take delight in perishing in the attempt.

In spite of the strength of my conviction, I entertain great regard for your fine abilities and love of the country, and that shall be unabated whether I have the good fortune to secure your co-operation or face your honest opposition.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SIR M. VISVESVARAYYA, K.C.I.E.
46 F WARDEN ROAD
BOMBAY

From a photostat: C.W. 9726. Courtesy: Government of Mysore

453. *LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

November 23, 1934

DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter. I have gone through your draft proposal for the training of social service workers. I am inclined to think that the District Boards cannot open the centres you contemplate without the permission of the Government. But that is a legal point on which I cannot write with any confidence. I have, however, a deeper objection to your scheme. District Boards as they are constituted in India have no interest in things of permanent value such as you have proposed. Their very constitution perhaps disables them for taking such interest. What you contemplate is pioneer work. It is essentially meant for reformers. Therefore it has got to be taken up by private agencies, and when they make of such training centres a success, the

thing becomes easy for District Boards and the like to take up. If I have understood your object correctly, you want to rejuvenate the villages. The trend is in the opposite direction. Hence neither District Boards nor the Government as such will handle the thing in the manner you and I would have them do. I wish we could meet early.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From the original: C.W. 3515. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6324

454. LETTER TO C. S. MASEKAR

November 23, 1934

MY DEAR MASEKAR,

I thank you for your letter. The Village Industries Association will not be concerned exclusively with the industries of the depressed classes, but will be concerned with the industries of the villages as a whole. Naturally [the] depressed classes will figure prominently in its scheme; but that will figure among the villagers who have been exploited by the city people. The scheme is still in process of formation. If you have any advice to give, I shall appreciate it. No one will be involved in or committed to any political movement. People belonging to different political schools will be welcome as helpers or advisers or as associates provided that they fall in with the central idea of encouraging village industries through their own act and propaganda to the exclusion of corresponding mechanized industries, whether in India or outside.

I hope that this answers your questions fully.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI C. S. MASEKAR
HON. SECRETARY
THE GUJARAT DEPRESSED CLASSES ASSOCIATION
31 LAMINGTON ROAD, BOMBAY 7

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

455. *LETTER TO DURGABAI JOSHI*

November 23, 1934

DEAR DURGABAI,

I see I have put my feet into it. I should have written to you directly. Then there would have been no misunderstanding. But as I knew that you enjoyed intimate relations with Jamnalalji and as I was overwhelmed, as I am still, with work, I felt that I was safe in asking Radhakisan to write to you, not at all officially but as a fellow-worker in the cause. But you have my unreserved apology for unconsciously departing from the proper procedure. My approach to you is one more illustration of short-cut being the longest in the end. You will now please excuse me. I understand your explanation and I am happy to be able to inform you that the young man who was reported to have lost his one full year after all did not do so. Fortunately, at the same time that I asked Radhakisan to write to you I sent an inquiry to the Secretary of the local Sangh of Vile Parle. He saw the young man and satisfied himself that by a stroke of good fortune, what might have been a loss of one year was averted. All is well that ends well. Therefore I would like you to dismiss from your mind my seeming impertinence.

Yours sincerely,

SMT. DURGABAI JOSHI
BERAR PROVINCIAL HARIJAN SEVAK SANGH
AKOLA (BERAR)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

456. *LETTER TO M. S. KELKAR*

November 23, 1934

I have your letter. If you know the comparison between milk and eggs, I would like you to inform me about it. When you administer eggs, what is the mode? If I remember right, in the case of Manu you used to dilute the contents of raw eggs with water. What is the effect of eggs on the system? Are they too heating, and what is the quantity?

I am afraid the Harijan Sevak Sangh would not donate Rs. 500 to you.

The paragraph about Satavlekar does not carry weight. Has he any reason for damaging you?

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

457. *LETTER TO KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA*

November 23, 1934

MY DEAR VENKATAPPAYYA,

The oranges sent by Mr. Jangiah have already arrived. Please give him many thanks for the parcel. I shall gladly receive fruit from his garden whenever he feels inclined to send it. As you know, we are here a big family and we can do justice to fruit whenever it comes our way.

Yes, the Assembly elections have been a perfect revelation. The South has easily topped the list with its 100 per cent victories and overwhelming majorities. It is a further demonstration of the unfailing victory of Truth and sacrifice.

I hope you and yours are keeping well.

Since dictating this, I have learnt that what you call oranges are not oranges but sour limes. These are not of so much value as sweet oranges.

Yours,
BAPU

SHRI KODNA VENKATAPPAYYA
GUNTUR (M. S. M. RLY.)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

458. LETTER TO G. D. KULKARNI

November 23, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. It seems to me to be self-contradictory. You first of all want me to push further my programme of self-control and you want me at the same time to be committed to self-indulgence. Nothing that I have as yet seen has moved me from the view that birth-control methods as at present adopted must ultimately lead to degeneration and inertia. Though I have a very great regard for Upton Sinclair and his philosophy of life I dread his unabashed encouragement of birth-control methods.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI G. D. KULKARNI
HONORARY ORGANIZER
BIRTH-CONTROL LEAGUE, POONA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

459. LETTER TO EASTERN STEAM NAVIGATION CO. LTD.

November 23, 1934

GENTLEMEN,

I am now able to tell you that the forty-two packages of dates sent by goods train were safely received day before yesterday.

Yours sincerely,

THE EASTERN STEAM NAVIGATION CO., LTD.
24 MANGALORE STREET
FORT, BOMBAY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

460. LETTER TO M. G. DATAR

November 23, 1934

DEAR DATARJI,

Jamnalalji has arrived earlier than was expected. He is most anxious that he should be left undisturbed between the 26th and 1st December as he will be having numerous guests during those days. He wants me not to entertain anybody during those days. Therefore you should either come here before the 26th or after the 1st December.

Yours sincerely,

M. G. DATAR
TILAK VIDYALAYA
NAGPUR

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

461. LETTER TO D. N. SARMAH

November 23, 1934

MY DEAR SARMAH,

I have your letter. It would be a great thing if you can remove the indebtedness of sweeper families.

The judgment you have sent me in the matter of a sweeper defendant is very interesting.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI D. N. SARMAH
SECRETARY, H. S. S.
JORHAT, ASSAM

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

462. *LETTER TO SIR ROBERT MCCARRISON*

November 23, 1934

DEAR MAJOR-GENERAL,

I thank you for your letter of 20th instant. As soon as the scheme of the Association is complete a copy shall certainly be sent to you.

I thank you for allowing your name to appear among the advisers of the Association.

Yours sincerely,

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

463. *LETTER TO PIERRE CERESOLE*

November 23, 1934

DEAR CERESOLE,

Enclosed please find Mrs. Emma Harker's letter. She is an elderly widow. She is anxious to do some work. She has her own means. Therefore she will pay her way. Can you take her in as a worker? Of course, so far as I can judge, she won't be able to take up the spade and work as a labourer pure and simple.[1] But you shall judge.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

PIERRE CERESOLE, ESQ.

PATNA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Emma Harker", p. 25.

464. LETTER TO EMMA HARKER

November 23, 1934

DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter. I am passing it on to Pierre Ceresole. I will let you have his answer. Copy of my letter[1] to him herewith.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

465. LETTER TO AN ENGLISHMAN

November 23, 1934

You have misunderstood my retirement from the Congress. I have not left it in disgust. Congressmen as individuals are both good and bad. But Congress is uniformly good. God's creatures are both good and bad. Is God therefore less good? I have retired to give it greater strength. I had become a dead weight. Have you ever anywhere seen the wonders it has worked during the elections with the least amount of expenses? No, in this matter, your prejudice had got the better of your judgment. Remember that Rajendra Prasad, Vallabhbhai, Rajagopalachari, Ansari, Mahadev, and many others, of whom humanity may be proud, are in it, of it, and would die for it.

Incidents of Gandhiji's Life, pp. 324-5

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

466. LETTER TO BALIBEHN M. ADALAJA

November 23, 1934

CHI. BALI[1],

I have a letter from you after a long time. When it just seemed possible, against all hope, that Harilal had turned over a new leaf, I didn't think it wise to write to you. I thought that on no account should there be unpleasantness. Why did you take that to mean that you were not a daughter to me? Did you forget that, though Harilal was my son, I did not yield to him for years? But since you have been embittered in many ways, I can understand your feeling hurt by any small thing that somebody may do. Let Harilal live alone and learn from experience.

What shall I say about Kamu[2]? She has suffered much. Fate has not been kind to either of you. You should, therefore, learn the art of finding happiness in suffering. That can be done only by constant repetition of the Lord's name.

Do you have any proposal in view for Manu[3]? I myself am in no hurry of course.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1535. Courtesy: Manubehn S. Mashruwala

467. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

November 23, 1934

BHAISHRI MUNSHI,

Do not take it to heart.

I would have sent you my congratulations if you had won. I send them even now, even though you have been defeated. "It is a blessing that the net has snapped, Shri Gopal has now come to me unsought." You have escaped from the net. Now devote your time to earning a little money by honest means. Improve

[1] Harilal Gandhi's wife's sister
[2] Kumibehn Tulsidas Maniar, addressee's sister
[3] Harilal Gandhi's daughter, later married to Surendra Mashruwala

your health. Your coming to the help at a critical time was in itself your victory.[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 7562. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

468. LETTER TO LILAVATI MUNSHI

November 23, 1934

CHI. LILAVATI,

Remember, no weakness. Labour is its own reward. Victory or defeat is a matter of chance, and very often he who loses wins and he who wins loses. I completely forgot to write to Gosibehn. I am writing now.[2]

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 7562. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

469. LETTER TO GOSIBEHN CAPTAIN[3]

November 24, 1934

Lilavati was here for two, three days. She discussed village work very thoroughly. She seems to be deeply interested in it. She left on my mind the impression that she would like to work with you and other sisters. Most probably she would talk to you and try to gather together all those who might be interested in the village work. I would like you all sisters to try to produce a harmonious blending if it is at all possible. You know best what to do and how to do it.

Jamnalalji was telling me that Perin[4] was suffering from cold and cough. She ought to give herself rest and get rid of the cough and cold even if it is to be by going to Panchgani.

SHRI GOSIBEHN CAPTAIN
BOMBAY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] The addressee had agreed ot contest the election when K. F. Nariman withdrew his candidature at the last minute.

[2] *Vide* the following item.

[3] Granddaughter of Dadabhai Naoroji

[4] Addressee's sister

470. LETTER TO KIRLOSKAR BROTHERS

November 24, 1934

GENTLEMEN,

You offered to send your machine with Sjt. Kale. I then discountenanced you from sending the machine and Sjt. Kale. But I have been pressed by friends to test the machine myself and under Kale's observation. If, therefore, your offer abides, I would like you to send one machine for me to test. I would also like someone who is an expert in village tools to accompany Sjt. Kale unless the latter is able to attend to such tools himself. I would like to suggest some improvements. If you send the machine and mechanic both should be here as early as possible after the 1st December. 2nd December would be the most suitable day for me.

Yours sincerely,

MESSRS KIRLOSKAR BROTHERS
KIRLOSKARWADI
(SATARA DT.)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

471. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

November 25, 1934

CHI. DEVDAS,

Your letters are few and mine almost nil.

I am not sure when I shall read Malkani's articles. You should not entrust such work to me. Maybe, my capacity to work has decreased or the burden of work has increased. Whatever it is, I am writing this after getting up at 2.15 in the morning. I daily get up at this hour and start work. I might be going to sleep at about 9 o' clock.

I do wish to go over there but my going depends upon the developments in Uttambhai's case. Soon many people will gather here. My work regarding the Association is moving slowly. There is a 99 % possibility of Wardha becoming the headquarters. Vallabh-

bhai is arriving; so also Raja. The matter will be decided after their arrival.

Ramdas is recovering gradually. Let us hope he gets back his health. Ba keeps him company by staying with him. He is at Jamnalalji's bungalow. It may be said that I am treating him; but in fact he is treating himself. He has started taking eggs. They are unfertilized and therefore there is nothing wrong in taking them. I receive letters from Harilal. At present I am meeting his expenses. He is holding out great hopes and I too am hoping. You might be receiving letters from Kanti. You [should write to] Harilal and Ramdas. . . .[1]

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

472. LETTER TO TULSI MAHER

November 25, 1934

CHI. TULSI MAHER,

I have both your letters, for Ba and for me. This time again you have been very late. You should write at least once a month. What is the cost of the Nepali Paper? We are all well. Does *Harijan* reach you intact?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6546

473. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS[2]

November 26, 1934

During the Harijan tour I discovered that the salt concession, which was part of the Irwin-Gandhi Pact, was not being availed of by the people. I observed also how much poor people suffered because of want of salt, although it was lying in front of them in areas adjoining the sea. In Mangalore, the fishermen brought the thing prominently to my notice. I thereupon entered into correspondence with Government as early as last March. The then Finance Member, Sir George Schuster, promptly replied to my

[1] The letter is incomplete.
[2] This appeared under the title "Free Salt for the Salt of the Earth".

query, and I discovered to my joy that the clause had not suffered wreck. I ought to have published the correspondence between Sir George Schuster and myself much earlier than I am now doing. I need not go into the causes for this delay. I now publish the correspondence, together with the clause and the communique[1] based upon it and setting forth the conditions of operating the clause. When the Pact was published, in commenting upon it, I had described this as the humanitarian part of the document. It was the humanitarian appeal that had found ready response from Lord Irwin. Those who now avail themselves of the concession will bear this fact in mind and will, therefore, refrain from making any commercial use of the concession, either directly or indirectly, and work it strictly within the four corners of the communique. All those Congressmen and others who are interested in villagers concerned making full use of the concession will bear in mind the list of areas from which concession for free manufacture and collection of salt has been withdrawn. The workers will also bear in mind that it is open to all concerned to make application to the local officers for the restoration of the concession. In no case should the concession be worked without sanction being previously obtained.

Harijan, 30-11-1934

474. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

November 26, 1934

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your letter. The money belonging to the Cow-protection Society which has been spent may be taken as lost. It will not be proper now to ask for it. Ambalalbhai's attitude has changed. If we can[not] get that amount from any source, I suppose the loss will have to be made good from the funds of the Cow-protection Society. Let us see now what Mavalankar[2] and Ranchhodbhai can do. If they can collect some amount, we shall not have to pay much from the Society's funds.

[1] Not reproduced here. For letters to Sir George Schuster dated March 28 and April 14, 1934, *vide* Vol. LVII. For the text of clause 20 and the communique, *vide* Vol. XLV, p. 436 and Vol. XLVI, p. 241.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to G. V. Mavalankar", p. 376.

Aren't the Bal Mandir and Kumar Mandir parts of the school? Don't they meet a need?

I understand what you say about Harilal. I don't have independent accommodation for myself here. Nor can we keep him in Jamnalalji's house. It seems proper, therefore, that till he gets properly trained and learns to observe the rules he should continue to stay there.

I am afraid we cannot have a joint office for the Spinners' Association and Village Industries Association. The latter will include a great many small activities, and so it seems to me desirable that the two offices should be separate for the time being. The fields of work of the two bodies will of course be complementary to each other. It seems that the headquarters of the Village Industries Association will be fixed at Wardha. Probably when you wrote your reply you had not received my letter, in which I had asked you whether you can be free from there.

My respectful greetings to Father and Mother. It is good news that they are able to keep good health.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–9: Shri Narandas Gandhine, Pt. II, p. 117. Also C.W. 8425. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

475. LETTER TO HARIDAS T. MUZUMDAR

November 26, 1934

BHAI HARIDAS,

You have sent a 20-page preface for your ten points; what violence is this! Moreover you have praised Mirabehn; is it for lending respectability to your censure of her? What violence is this too! And you crown both with your violent pride.

You have refuted what you imagine to be my views with the help of your points. But I think between my views and what you consider to be my views there is as much difference as between a horse and a donkey. How then can I satisfy you?

O God! Save me from my friends, followers and flatterers. Your 26-page letter has made me utter this prayer. I was under the impression that after our meeting in England, your pride

would have gone down; but my calculation has gone wrong. But man must err endlessly.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

476. LETTER TO V. V. GIRI

November 27, 1934

DEAR GIRI,

Your wire. When almost all win[1], who should receive congratulations? The policy of the Congress has been vindicated. Let us deserve the great trust.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

V. V. GIRI
VIZAGAPATNAM

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

477. LETTER TO K. NAGESWAR RAO

November 27, 1934

MY DEAR NAGESWAR RAO,

You have outdone everybody in the race for votes. But even you had to spend money? What a tragedy! How much were you out of pocket? Without his opposition the Congress could not have shown its hold over the people.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

K. NAGESWAR RAO
MADRAS

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] In the Assembly election held in 1934. The final party-wise position of seats won was: Congress 44, Nationalist Party headed by Madan Mohan Malaviya 11, Independents 22 and the European group 11.

478. LETTER TO KAMAKOTI NATARAJAN

November 27, 1934

MY DEAR KAMAKOTI,

Singer machine does not replace the needle woman, it gives her a better needle. We have village rice-pounding and flour-grinding machines. If someone were to give me an effective substitute, I will take it today. What I resist is flour and rice mills which put thousands of women out of work and rob them of health. My regards to your sister in Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

KAMAKOTI NATARAJAN
BANDRA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

479. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

Unrevised *November 27, 1934*

CHI. SHARMA,

Your letter. You have again been hasty. How did you conclude that Mogheji wanted you to go away for good or that he was happy at your leaving thus. This too is mere suspicion. If people are afraid of you it is because you lose no time in making allegations and entertaining all sorts of fanciful ideas. If I were to ask Kamalnayan, he will, I am sure, have a different story to tell. To the best of my knowledge no one doubts your honest desire to serve. But I am myself observing that you are misunderstood. You should stick to your resolution. You belong to the Ashram, you have to return to it and must prepare yourself to do so. Forget about the incident at the station[1] and all that you have written to me.

[1] Regarding this the addressee explains that, while bidding him farewell at the Wardha station, the Ashram Manager had observed, "You sulked and we are spared!"

Dr. Shirlekar has sent nothing. I shall send for [your books]. I shall write to Dr. Ansari and send you a copy of the letter. I am trying to send you the books.

The account of Krishna's health pains me. Now you have to concentrate on her recovery. By all means take a separate house. Do write to me if your brothers are in any way inconvenienced in meeting your expenses.

It cannot be said that Ramdas is all right but he has progressed to the point of taking three eggs. If you have anything to say about him do say it.

My weight is 108 lb. which is good but it may not go up further. I feel I have gained some strength as a result of fresh milk and raw vegetables. A reduced diet [uncooked food] is giving me as much strength as I derived from a larger quantity of milk and vegetables. Obviously, the expenditure has considerably gone down and time is saved. I must have more experience to say anything further.

Amtussalaam seems to be well enough but she cannot digest milk.

Mirabehn has written to you. A bundle belonging to the office containing some of my very important papers, my spectacles and such other things was placed in the room where your luggage was stored. Some things from it were sent there earlier. Did this bundle reach [you] along with those things? Can it be located? The bundle was tied in a white khadi sheet. Find out and if you can lay your hands on it, send me a wire. I am anxious about the papers.

Draupadi's weight must surely increase.

I shall not worry about you as you have given me an assurance.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Your notice can appear in the coming issue of *Harijan*;[1] your letter was received too late.

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha*, between pp. 122 and 123

[1] *Vide* pp. 447-8.

480. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO VICEROY

November 28, 1934

DEAR MR. MIEVILLE,

I must thank you for your prompt reply to my letter of the 15th instant. But I cannot help saying that the decision come to in regard to my contemplated visit to the Frontier Province is painful and places me in a very awkward position. In that sense perhaps the decision may be regarded as unfortunate.

The only ray of hope I see in your letter is that the undesirability of my visit refers to "the present time".[1] Could you please give me a definition of the expression? Could you please also tell me, if my enquiry is not inappropriate, why it is considered undesirable for me to visit the Frontier?

Whilst it is my earnest desire to abide by His Excellency's wishes, I may be pardoned for repeating what I have said in my letter of the 15th instant—that I could do so in so far as it was humanly possible. This is a point which your letter under reply seems to have overlooked.[2]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Home Department, Political, File No. 4/8/35. Courtesy: National Archives of India. Also *The Bombay Chronicle*, 12-12-1934

481. LETTER TO S. GANESAN

November 29, 1934

MY DEAR GANESAN,

Before I got your note through H. Sharma, I had intended to tell you on reading your "Congressman" that it was a waste of

[1] *Vide* footnote 1, p. 349.

[2] On December 2, the addressee replied: " . . . the expression 'at the present time' implies that His Excellency's decision will hold good till he is satisfied that conditions are such as to render a visit unobjectionable. His Excellency's decision was arrived at after a full consideration of the events of recent years and present conditions."

effort. Your writing was unbalanced and betrayed ignorance and bias. Your attack on Rajaji was ungracious. You will be surprised to know that he had no hand in the drafting of the resolutions. They were my drafts and he had no suggestions on the resolution to which you have so ignorantly referred. You simply judge him from your own unhappy experiences. But otherwise, too, your criticism of men and measures is not of the right type. The majority of journalists spoil things by judging things. They will discharge their function well, if they will give unvarnished versions of events. When they criticize they must base their judgment on facts strictly within their knowledge. If you are going to become a good constructive worker, you must not waste your time after conducting newspapers. Choose one vocation or another. Harihar Sharma will tell you more about my suggestions and so will Kakasaheb who is probably coming there.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

482. LETTER TO DR. M. A. ANSARI

November 29, 1934

DEAR DR. ANSARI,

This is about a naturopath named Sharma. He belongs to Khurja. He owned and conducted a sun-treatment hospital in Delhi. Through Amtussalaam whom you met here, I came to know him now three years ago. There was much show about his hospital and more about the books he wrote. Now he has humbled himself. He has given up the hospital and burned his books. He wants at my instance to put his knowledge on a more solid foundation and therefore wants to know things about the [human] body which should be common to all whether they are allopaths or naturopaths or any other. But he cannot afford to go to a medical college and begin studies there. He has sufficient knowledge to be able to pursue private studies, if he had some guidance. What I would like you to do is to tell me what he should read and what accessories he should require. And could you lend him one after another the books he should read? If you are sufficiently interested in him he will call on you. I do not want or expect you to give much of your time to this work. If you can easily jot down the books he should read in their order, I

should be thankful. I shall procure or buy the books, if you have none to lend. I do want to help Shri Sharma as I believe him to be [an] earnest seeker who wants to dedicate his knowledge and all for the alleviation of human suffering.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

483. *SPEECH AT GANDHI SEVA SANGH*[1]

[On or before *November 30, 1934*][2]

Some of you here perhaps know how the Village Industries Association came into being. During my extensive Harijan tour last year it was clearly borne in upon me that the way in which we were carrying on our khadi work was hardly enough either to universalize khadi or to rejuvenate the villages. I saw that it was confined to a very few and that even those who used khadi exclusively were under the impression that they need do nothing else and that they might use other things irrespective of how and where they were made. Khadi was thus becoming a lifeless symbol, and I saw that, if the state of things was allowed to go on, khadi might even die of sheer inanition. It is not that a concentrated, intensive effort devoted exclusively to khadi would not be conducive to success, but there was neither that concentration nor intensity. All did not give *all* their spare time to the charkha or the *takli*, and all had not taken to the exclusive use of khadi—though their number was larger than that of the spinners. But the rest were all idle. There were multitudes of men with quantities of enforced leisure on their hands. That I saw was a state which could lead only to our undoing. 'These people', I said to myself, 'could never win swaraj. For, their involuntary and voluntary idleness made them a perpetual prey of exploiters, foreign and indigenous. Whether the exploiter was from outside or from the Indian cities, their state would be the same, they would have no swaraj.' So I said to myself, 'Let these people be asked to do

[1] Published in *Harijan* under the title "A. I. V. I. A.—Its Meaning and Scope". This is a "brief resume" of Gandhiji's "third talk". Reports of the first two speeches are not available.

[2] According to a report in *The Bombay Chronicle*, 6-12-1934, the annual session of Gandhi Seva Sangh was held in the last week of November 1934.

something else; if they will not interest themselves in khadi, let them take up some work which used to be done by their ancestors but which has of late died out. There were numerous things of daily use which they used to produce themselves not many years ago, but for which they now depend on the outer world. There were numerous things of daily use to the town-dweller for which he depended on the villagers but which he now imports from cities. The moment the villagers decided to devote all their spare time to doing something useful and the town-dwellers to use those village products, the snapped link between the villagers and the town-dwellers would be restored. As to which of the extinct or moribund village industries and crafts could be revived, we could not be sure until we sat down in the midst of the villages to investigate, to tabulate and classify. But I picked up two things of the most vital importance: articles of diet and articles of dress. Khadi was there. In the matter of articles of diet, we were fast losing our self-sufficiency. Only a few years ago, we pounded our own paddy and ground our own flour. Put aside for the time being the question of health. It is an indisputable fact that the flour-mill and the rice-mill have driven millions of women out of employment and deprived them of the means of eking out their income. Sugar is fast taking the place of jaggery, and ready-made articles of diet like biscuits and sweetmeats are freely being imported into our villages. This means that all the village industries are gradually slipping out of the hands of the villager, who has become producer of raw materials for the exploiter. He continually gives, and gets little in return. Even the little he gets for the raw material he produces he gives back to the sugar merchant and the cloth merchant. His mind and body have become very much like those of the animals, his constant companions. When we come to think of it, we find that the villager of today is not even half so intelligent or resourceful as the villager of fifty years ago. For, whereas the former is reduced to a state of miserable dependence and idleness, the latter used his mind and body for all he needed and produced them at home. Even the village artisan today partakes of the resourcelessness that has overtaken the rest of the village. Go to the village carpenter and ask him to make a spinning-wheel for you, go to the village smith and ask him to make a spindle for you, you will be disappointed. This is a deplorable state of things. It is as a remedy for it that the Village Industries Association has been conceived.

This cry of 'back to the village', some critics say, is putting back the hands of the clock of progress. But is it really so?

Is it going back to the village, or rendering back to it what belongs to it? I am not asking the city-dwellers to go to and live in the villages. But I am asking them to render unto the villagers what is due to them. Is there any single raw material that the city-dwellers can obtain except from the villager? If they cannot, why not teach him to work on it himself, as he used to before and as he would do now but for our exploiting inroads?

But this reinstating the villager in what was once his natural position is no easy task. I had thought that I should be able to frame a constitution and set the Association going with the help of Sjt. Kumarappa within a short time. But the more I dive into it, the more I find myself out of my depth. In a sense, the work is much more difficult than khadi, which does not in any way offer a complicated problem. You have simply to exclude all foreign and machine-made cloth, and you have established khadi on a secure foundation. But here the field is so vast, there is such an infinite variety of industries to handle and organize, that it will tax all our business talent, expert knowledge and scientific training. It cannot be achieved without hard toil, incessant endeavour and application of all our business and scientific abilities to this supreme purpose. Thus, I sent a questionnaire[1] to several of our well-known doctors and chemists, asking them to enlighten me on the chemical analysis and different food values of polished and unpolished rice, jaggery and sugar, and so on. Many friends, I am thankful to say, have immediately responded, but only to confess that there has been no research in some of the directions I had inquired about. Is it not a tragedy that no scientist should be able to give me the chemical analysis of such a simple article as *gur*? The reason is that we have not thought of the villager. Take the case of honey. I am told that in foreign countries such a careful analysis of honey is made that no sample which fails to satisfy a particular test is bottled for the market. In India we have got vast resources for the production of the finest honey, but we have not much expert knowledge in the matter. An esteemed doctor friend writes to say that in his hospital, at any rate, polished rice is taboo and that it has been proved after experiments on rats and other animals that polished rice is harmful. But why have not all the medical men published the results of their investigation and experiment and joined in declaring the use of such rice as positively harmful?

[1] *Vide* pp. 304-5.

I have just by one or two instances indicated my difficulty. What sort of an organization should I have? What kinds of laboratory research shall we have to go in for? We shall need a number of scientists and chemists prepared to lay not only their expert knowledge at our disposal, but to sit down in our laboratories and to devote hours of time, free of charge, to experiments in the direction I have indicated. We shall have not only to publish the results from time to time, but we shall have to inspect and certify various products. Also we shall have to find out whether the villager who produces an article or foodstuff rests content with exporting it and with using a cheap substitute imported from outside. We shall have to see that the villagers become first of all self-contained and then cater for the needs of the city-dwellers.

For this purpose we shall have to form district organizations, and, where districts are too big to handle, we may have to divide the districts into sub-districts. Each of these—some 250—should have an agent who will carry out a survey and submit a report in the terms of the instructions issued to him from the head office. These agents shall have to be full-timers and whole-hoggers, with a live faith in the programme and prepared immediately to make the necessary adjustment in their daily life. This work will certainly need money, but, more than money, it will need men of strong faith and willing hands.

Q. Will not this programme swamp the khadi programme which has yet to be fulfilled?

A. No. Khadi cannot be moved from its central place. Khadi will be the sun of the whole industrial solar system. All the other industries will receive warmth and sustenance from the khadi industry.

Q. What exactly are the industries we must revive or promote?

A. I have indicated the lines. We must promote every useful industry that was existent a short while ago and the extinction of which has now resulted in unemployment.

Q. Have we to declare a boycott of the rice and the flour mills?

A. We have to declare no boycott, but we shall ask the people to husk their own rice and to grind their own flour, and we shall carry on persistent propaganda in favour of hand-pounded rice and hand-ground flour as better articles of diet from the point of view of health. Let us declare a boycott of idleness.

Q. Shall we use the Congress Committees for this purpose?

A. Of course. We shall use and take help from any source. We have no politics as such and no party.

Q. The formation of the Central Board means centralization?

A. Not quite. The districts will be the working centres. The Central Office will be only a watch tower for the whole of India issuing instructions, but not a board of administration. It will be a sort of correspondence school through which the various agents will carry on mutual exchange of thought and compare notes. We want to avoid centralization of administration, we want centralization of thought, ideas and scientific knowledge.

Harijan, 7-12-1934

484. *'WHY NOT LABOUR-SAVING DEVICES'*

A fair friend who was enthused over the contemplated formation of the All-India Village Industries Association, on reading my Press message[1] on the preliminary programme, writes:

> The very idea of the revival or encouragement of the hand-husking of rice and *chakki* grinding even for villages has scared me from, and abated my enthusiasm for village work. It seems to me an enormous waste of one's time and energy not to take advantage of labour-saving devices in the uplift scheme. If the villagers, and along with them the uplift workers, have to husk and grind, there will hardly be leisure left for them to attend to anything else for their improvement. Besides, if the primitive methods were revived, the men will take up the work in the first flush of enthusiasm; but ultimately the brunt of the whole work, I mean husking and grinding, will fall on us, women, and there will be a setback to the little progress we have already made.

Underlying this argument is a fallacy. There is no question of refusing to take advantage of labour-saving devices. If the villagers had enough to eat and to clothe themselves with, there would be no cause for home-grinding or home-husking, assuming that the question of health was not of any importance or, if it was, there was no difference between home-ground flour and mill-ground, or home-husked rice and mill-husked. But the problem is that the villagers became idle when they left off husking and grinding even for their own use, and made no good use of their idle hours whether for uplift or otherwise. A starving man or woman who has time on his or her hand will surely be glad to earn an honest anna during that time, for, he or she will resent being advised to save his or her labour when either can turn

[1] *Vide* "Statement to the Press", pp. 303-4.

it into a few pice to alleviate starvation. My correspondent is wrong in thinking that the uplift worker has either to grind or husk. He has certainly to learn the art and know the tools, so that he can suggest improvements and understand the limitations of the tools. She is wrong, again, in thinking that in the first flush of enthusiasm men will be called upon to grind or husk or will perform these tasks of their own accord and ultimately let the brunt fall on the shoulders of women. The fact is that husking and grinding was the prerogative of women, and tens of thousands made a living out of this task, which was both dignified and invigorative. Now they are perforce idle, because the vast majority of them have not been able to find another employment in the place of these two, which we have snatched away from them.

When the fair friend writes about the "little progress" that the women have already made, she has undoubtedly the city-dwellers in mind, for the village life is entirely untouched by uplift workers. The majority of them do not even know how the women or men live in the 7,00,000 villages of this vast land. We little know how they have deteriorated for want of nourishing food and protective clothing. And we little know how, being fed on innutritious rice or flour, which are their staple, they and their children lose stamina and what little vitality they have.

I have no partiality for return to the primitive method of grinding and husking for the sake of them. I suggest the return, because there is no other way of giving employment to the millions of villagers who are living in idleness. In my opinion, village uplift is impossible, unless we solve the pressing economic distress. Therefore, to induce the villagers to utilize their idle hours is in itself solid uplift work. I invite the fair correspondent and those who feel like her to go to some villages, live there for some time in the midst of the villagers and try to live like them, and they will soon perceive the soundness of my argument.

Harijan, 30-11-1934

485. WHAT IS IT?

An esteemed friend wrote the other day saying, among other things, that he had not before his mind's eye a full picture of what I meant by village industries work. It was a good question. It must have occurred to many people. This is the purport of what I wrote to him:

In a nutshell, of the things we use, we should restrict our purchases to the articles which villages manufacture. Their manufactures may be crude. We must try to induce them to improve their workmanship, and not dismiss them because foreign articles or even articles produced in cities, that is, big factories, are superior. In other words, we should evoke the artistic talent of the villager. In this manner shall we repay somewhat the debt we owe to them. We need not be frightened by the thought whether we shall ever succeed in such an effort. Within our own times we can recall instances where we have not been baffled by the difficulty of our tasks when we have known that they were essential for the nation's progress. If, therefore, we as individuals believe that revivification of India's villages is a necessity of our existence, if we believe that thereby only can we root out untouchability and feel one with all, no matter to what community or religion they may belong, we must mentally go back to the villages and treat them as our pattern, instead of putting the city life before them for imitation. If this is the correct attitude, then, naturally, we begin with ourselves and thus use, say, hand-made paper instead of mill-made, use village reed, wherever possible, instead of the fountain pen or the penholder, ink made in the villages instead of the big factories, etc. I can multiply instances of this nature. There is hardly anything of daily use in the home which the villagers have not made before and cannot make even now. If we perform the mental trick and fix our gaze upon them, we immediately put millions of rupees into the pockets of the villagers, whereas at the present moment we are exploiting the villagers without making any return worth the name. It is time we arrested the progress of the tragedy. To me, the campaign against untouchability has begun to imply ever so much more than the eradication of the ceremonial untouchability of those who are labelled untouchables. For the city-dweller, the villages have become untouchable. He does not know them, he will not live in them, and if he finds himself in a village, he will want to reproduce the city life there. This would be tolerable, if we could bring into being cities which would accommodate 30 crores of human beings. This is much more impossible than the one of reviving the village industries and stopping the progressive poverty, which is due as much to enforced unemployment as to any other cause.

Harijan, 30-11-1934

486. TELEGRAM TO H. L. SHARMA[1]

November 30, 1934

SHARMA
CARE NATHMALDAS BEHARILAL
DANGANJ, KHURJA

YOUR WIRE. YOUR DUTY THERE FOR PRESENT. WRITE AND GUIDE. CHANGE RESIDENCE FINE FRESH AIR DRAUPADI CHILDREN.

BAPU

From a facsimile: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha*, facing p. 125

487. LETTER TO A GIRL

SEGAON,
November 30, 1934

CHI. LAMBOOS[2],

Lambodar means a large-bellied one. It is a name of Ganapati. I should have named you Lamboos. I suppose I must think it a favour from you that you wrote to me after such a long time.

Amtussalaam, Lilavati and Sharda are here. They are all quite well.

You girls seem to be doing good work.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1752

[1] This was in reply to the addressee's telegram dated November 29, 1934, which read: "Mirabehn's and your letters bear great difference. Papers question increases my anxiety. Perhaps 'R' 'P' or 'G' can honestly trace bundles. Put them directly in my charge then I trace your things. Wire I come otherwise writing tomorrow." Also *vide* pp. 404-5.

[2] Nickname for a tall, thin person

488. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

November 30, 1934

CHI. SHARMA,

Your letter, the samples[1], the books[2], Rs. 20[3] in notes and the stamps[4] have all been received. I have not understood the account of this sum returned. A copy of my letter[5] to Dr. Ansari is enclosed herewith. I shall write to you when I get his reply, you must not write to him before that. You ought to shift to some other house. The account you have given of the vaids is true enough.[6] If you cannot find a house you can erect a thatched hut on some plot of land that is available. Do away with *purdah* for Draupadi or else leave Khurja.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have your wire.[7] I do agree that your presence will help in locating the papers. But this is not to be. Your duty is to look after Draupadi and the children[8]. Change your residence. I am searching [for the papers].

BAPU

[From Hindi]

Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha, pp. 126-7

[1] Of ghee from Khurja

[2] Belonging to the Kanya Ashram

[3] For the Ashram khadi used by the addressee

[4] Borrowed from the Ashram office

[5] *Vide* pp. 407-8.

[6] The addressee had found from experience in the case of his daughter that most of the vaids were quacks.

[7] *Vide* footnote 1, p. 415.

[8] The source has "boys".

489. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

December 2, 1934

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

Your telegrams to Vallabhbhai and to me have been received. Even this minor operation is proving troublesome. I have a letter from Dr. Bidhan too which says that you are improving, though I do not gather the same impression from your wires. I am awaiting a further telegram.

Writing to the Viceroy for an interview does not seem proper just now. I have anyway written to him a second time and asked what he meant by 'not at the present time'.[1] I have also asked for the reason of the refusal. Let us see what happens. Whatsoever happens will be for the good.

If you are well and can go to Delhi I shall try to leave for Delhi by the 20th. I am preparing for it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Hindi: C.W. 8002. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

490. LETTER TO G. V. MAVALANKAR

December 3, 1934

BHAISHRI MAVALANKAR,

I got your letter. It fully satisfies me and relieves me from worry. If the dairy does not succeed even after we have borne so much loss for five years, it will be wound up. I fully accept what you say regarding Trustees of the Harijan Ashram. They should be completely free to manage it in their own way consistently with the basic principles.

Find some time and discuss all the points with Narahari.

I know I am imposing a burden on you, and that too when your health is not good enough to shoulder it all. But, then, burdens can be imposed only on those who come forward and seek them. But please warn me as soon as you feel that it is becoming too heavy.

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Viceroy", p. 406.

You also will be free from the bonds of caste when you become a beggar like me, but won't your capacity for begging also have increased then? Shall I see that happy day in my lifetime? However, I shall die with the faith that one day you will embrace complete poverty.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1241

491. LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH

December 3, 1934

CHI. NARAHARI,

Give the accompanying letter to Mavalankar. It is in reply to his letter. The latter is for your file. That much assurance should be enough for us. You should continue to make whatever other collections you can. Let me know if you have any suggestion to make regarding either. Increase your work only to the extent of your capacity.

I hope everything else is all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9067

492. LETTER TO ANNAPURNA

December 3, 1934

CHI. ANNAPURNA,

I had your letter as well as your mother's, but I could not reply due to lack of time. Father came but I could hardly talk to him. I could not even enquire after you all. Tell me now about your activities and how everybody is.

Blessings from
BAPU

SMT. ANNAPURNA KUMARI
C/O SHRI GOPABANDHU CHOWDHRY
BARI, DIST. CUTTACK

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2780

493. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

Unrevised *December 4, 1934*

CHI. PREMA,

I got your letter. If I gave wise replies to your questions, would they necessarily be a sign of real wisdom in me?

None of you would know the [strength of] anger in me. I alone can know it. I wouldn't describe as anger what Lilavati or Gangabehn may have observed in me.[1] I suppress most of the anger which I feel. Gangabehn and others could have seen only what remained of it. If I did not let them see even that, I would be a hypocrite or ruin my health and become a mere skeleton. That does not happen because I make a conscious effort to control my anger and tread my way through the problems. Because I don't think it necessary to be careful with people who are intimate with me they occasionally get a glimpse of the anger in me, but, being kind to me, they forget it.

Prabhavati will send to you whatever yarn is still lying with me.[2] My calculation has turned out to be wrong. Prabhavati is in Bombay at present. She has gone there to be of help to Swaruprani and to meet Jayaprakash.

What you believe about . . .[3] is probably not correct. Be extremely careful about believing any story against a person. It would be better not to listen to such a story at all.

What can be done about a worker like Dr. Hardikar?[4] His views and aims are different from ours. The Government will not permit him to carry on the activity which is dear to his heart, and he cannot take interest in the other activities which are going on. A person can participate in popular activities only if he can adjust himself within their framework. A person like Dr. Hardikar should take up some occupation and do what ser-

[1] Gandhiji had refused both of them permission to attend the Congress session.

[2] The addressee had asked for yarn spun by Gandhiji in Yeravda Mandir from the slivers supplied by her.

[3] The name has been omitted.

[4] Dr. Hardikar's co-workers who had given up their professions, etc., at the time of the Civil Disobedience Movement were in a miserable plight when the movement was withdrawn and Hardikar himself could be of no help.

vice he can while engaged in it. I have been advising many people to do this.

People who follow an occupation honestly also serve the country. Those who claim to be servants of the people may in fact be a burden on them whereas people who earn a livelihood by following an occupation may be true servants.

You are right in what you say regarding your letters. You can write "Private" on letters intended exclusively for me. As regards letters which you leave to me to deal with, I shall dispose of them as I like. I rarely preserve the letters which I receive.

You may do what is possible regarding crafts.

I hope Deo will not change your place of work too frequently.[1] You can do some work only if you remain steady in one place. If the place where you are living now is but a suburb of Poona, you will not be able to do much useful work there. However, since you have been working there, I hope you will not be asked to leave it too soon. But don't attach much importance to my advice in this matter. If you think that it was a mistake to have gone there, you certainly need not cling to the place. A mistake must be rectified when it is realized.

Who am I to secure swaraj for the country through ahimsa? If I have real ahimsa in me it cannot but prove infectious. I have little faith in myself, but my faith in ahimsa is unshakable. The world has recognized it as a great principle, but it has rarely been acted upon. I daily get a fresh experience of its sweetness, for to me it is the only wish-fulfilling tree. No other way is possible for me, for I have found no other means of attaining Satyanarayana[2] and life without the prospect of attaining Him has no meaning for me. Hence the path of ahimsa, whether difficult or easy, is the only one that I can follow. If violence breaks out after my death, you may conclude that my ahimsa was very imperfect or was not real at all—but not that the principle of ahimsa was wrong. Or it may also be that we shall have to cross the river of blood in which the wicked suffer for their sins before we reach the goal of ahimsa. Ahimsa came into politics in the 1920s. But didn't the Chauri Chaura[3] and

[1] Shankarrao Deo wanted to move his Ashram to a small village as Saswad where it was established was the headquarters of a taluk.

[2] God in the form of Truth

[3] *Vide* Vol. XXII, pp. 415-21 and 423-7.

other outrages occur after that, and hasn't the Government gone to extreme lengths of repression? I am sure, however, that despite all this violence, ahimsa has had a profound effect on people. But it has been no more than a drop in the ocean. My experiment continues and is ever growing in its scope. May your faith never waver!

Our senses do not always perceive the truth. Very often what they perceive is utterly false. That is why the path of non-attachment was discovered. To cultivate non-attachment means to rise above the senses. One can do that only by overcoming one's attachment to objects of the senses. If we believe the evidence of the eyes, would it not prove that the earth was flat? And doesn't the sun seem to be only a golden disc? If the Prema that my eyes see was the true Prema, what a wretch would I be! And suppose you believed all that you heard against me!

I think I have written enough. Mirabehn's alarm has sounded. The bell for prayer will soon be given. You may draw from this whatever picture you can [of my state of mind]. I am thinking of going to Delhi after the 15th. I intend to stay there for a few days in the Harijan Ashram.

So far as I can see at present, I think I shall be in jail at last.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10363. Also C.W. 6802. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

494. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

December 4, 1934

CHI. SHARMA,

I got your letter yesterday. That might possibly help in locating the articles. All that you have written is enough to institute a search. How can I call you here for this task? One strong reason for your going there is to be with and serve Draupadi and the children. This is the beginning of your training and this is how naturopathy starts. And now you write that you would live in a room in Dr. Ansari's house if he agrees to it. That too leaving behind Draupadi and Krishna who is

reduced to a mere skeleton! No, your education, your duty today lies in doing whatever is possible while living with Draupadi and the children.

Take them away to some village near Khurja and live there. If not there then somewhere else in the countryside. Krishnan Nair lives at Narela near Delhi. He is a good man, you can live with him too, i.e., he might keep you with him or find some place for you. In any case you are not going to live with your brothers in Khurja.[1] Your brother who is helping you will continue to do so wherever you might live. Let me know his income.

Amtul wants to undertake some work in collaboration with you. If you can live in a village, this wish of hers can also be fulfilled. She wants to serve Draupadi and the children but this has nothing to do with your living in the countryside.

I hope you will not tell me that your studies have been interrupted because you have not received your anatomy books. No matter when you get the books, by leading a well regulated life, you are certainly going ahead with your training. Giving up all suspicion also does help. Look, the reason why Jnanoba was not brought before me was to save me [the trouble]. As the shawl was already found, there was no need to see him. I had myself sent Kishorelal down to you. Similarly, the incident involving Kamalnayan and Mogheji. Amtul was present during their conversation, she heard all. She says that Kamalnayan and Mogheji were simply jesting and they did not mean to express pleasure at your departure.[2] Possibly they were neither sorry nor pleased at your leaving. One desirous of becoming a naturopath is not suspicious of anyone, is not hasty and does not brood over another person's fault. He should daily ponder over this couplet of Tulsidas:

> God has endowed this world of sentient and insentient beings with good qualities as well as bad. Good men take in only the good qualities leaving behind the impurities like the swan that drinks only milk leaving behind the water mixed with it.

Only then can he treat other people or correctly diagnose their ailments.

If Ramdas comes along he will travel with me. I shall see what happens.

[1] The family house lacked air and sunshine.

[2] *Vide* footnote on p. 404.

How are you spending your time these days? What are you reading? You have plenty of books, I suppose.

I have received a prompt refusal from Delhi; now further correspondence is going on. Let us see what happens.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Hindi]

Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha, pp. 127-9

495. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

December 5, 1934

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I have your last letter just received. I need say nothing save to welcome you. I expect you here on 7th unless you are wanted there for any peremptory purpose.

The Viceroy's letter[1] has been received asking me not to go to the Frontier. Hoyl[and] comes here on 17th on his way to Bihar. I should like to leave for Delhi on 18th to pass a few days at Harijan Ashram and then . . . [2].

Amrit Kaur comes here on 11th expecting to find you here.

The rest from Mathuradas.

Love from us all.

MOHAN

From the original: C.W. 9685. Courtesy: Viswabharati Library, Santiniketan

496. LETTER TO PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA

December 5, 1934

DEAR DR. PATTABHI,

I have your letter. I know your hands are fairly full. What I want you to do is without interference with your work to tell me:

(1) What are the capabilities in your part of the world of revival in the direction indicated by me?

[1] *Vide* footnote 1, p. 349.

[2] Omission as in the source

(2) Who can, in your opinion, take charge of the various districts? They must be practically wholetimers and yet able, if possible, to pay their way and make the agency self-supporting. This concern should not be run at a loss.

(3) Do you want to take up your own district?

(4) What is your opinion of khadi bhandars or centres taking up surplus village goods for sale on credit on terms to be mutually agreed? If the answer be in the affirmative, what should be the terms?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

DR. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA
MASULIPATAM

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

497. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

December 5, 1934

I am getting ready for jail. I see that it is difficult to avoid it any longer. "Make the best of today, for who has seen tomorrow?"

If you have copies of the *Samkshipta Balakanda* which I had brought out in Natal and Gatulalji's *Subhashit Lahari*, send them with Andrews. The latter is needed for Gatulalji's verse translation of the *Gita* which it contains.

[From Gujarati]
Bapuni Prasadi, p. 154

498. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI

Unrevised *December 5, 1934*

MY DEAR MALKANI,

Gandhi Seva Sangh is framing a new constitution. It has decided to incur no fresh obligations. It will enlist workers who hold common ideals without needing to share a common purse. Jamnalalji has taken up burdens which he, the sole collector, cannot hope to discharge for all time. The Sangh itself will crumble to pieces under such a weight. You must therefore draw from the Harijan Sangh so long as you are in it. And there

is nothing wrong in it when you are giving the whole of your time to it. Draw your dependents also in it and what you are taking will never appear heavy. More when we meet, if we do. The 'if' is there, because there is no certainty about Ghanshyamdas's coming there even after 15th. And I do not come if he is not there.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 903

499. LETTER TO SHANKERLAL BANKER

December 6, 1934

MY DEAR SHANKERLAL,

If you have got a copy of the Maganlal Memorial appeal[1] and the names of the Trustees that were announced, please send it to me. The idea is to have the Memorial opened here as, you may remember, was the suggestion made by Jamnalalji. There should be a Hall in which all the processes from picking of cotton to ginning would be on view as the centre, and the village industries surrounding these things. The idea would be also to have the office of the Village Industries Association there, and if possible the A. I. S. A. office also on the same ground. How does the whole thing appeal to you?

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

500. LETTER TO CHITRAVSHASTRI

December 6, 1934

DEAR CHITRAVSHASTRI,

I had your telegram. I know nothing of Muslim demonstrations in Sind extolling Nathuram's murder. My horror of any murder is well known. Undoubtedly the murder of Nathuram was bad, and doubly bad in the manner it was committed. But my disapproval, and for that matter yours, is surely of no consequence.

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXXVI, pp. 323-4.

Any disapproval to be effective must surely come from Mussalmans.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI CHITRAVSHASTRI
PRESIDENT, MAHARASHTRA HINDU MAHASABHA
POONA CITY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

501. *LETTER TO NORA MORELL*

December 6, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. It was received some time ago, but pressure of work has prevented my replying earlier.

The best way you, living in Germany, can serve India is to befriend those Indians who are living in Germany, and secondly to live up to the doctrines that you approve.

Yours sincerely,

MADAME NORA MORELL
BERLIN-WILMERSDORF
RUDESHEIMER PLATZ 6

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

502. *LETTER TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM*

December 6, 1934

I have now come across the letter from the German friend. I have written to her.[1] Here is a copy of it so that you too can send a reply if you like. The reply is belated, but better late than never.

Encl. 1

SHRI JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM
MARKET STREET
HYDERABAD (SIND)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

503. *LETTER TO UPTON SINCLAIR*

December 6, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I was thankful to hear from you after a long time. You have mailed your books to Ahmedabad. My headquarters just now are Ashram, Wardha. Therefore probably the books are still somewhere in transit. I am looking forward to receiving both *The Cry for Justice* and *Epic Campaign.* If you don't mind, I would like you to send a fresh parcel so that if the parcel already sent miscarries I may not be without the books.

Yours sincerely,

UPTON SINCLAIR, ESQ.
STATION A. PASADENA
CALIFORNIA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

504. *TELEGRAM TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO VICEROY*

December 7, 1934

WHILST I AM PRAYERFULLY CONSIDERING MY DUTY REGARDING THE CONTEMPLATED VISIT TO THE FRONTIER, SEEING THAT GARBLED REPORTS OF OUR CORRESPONDENCE HAVE APPEARED IN THE PRESS UNLESS HIS EXCELLENCY HAS OBJECTION I WOULD LIKE TO PUBLISH THE SAME.[1]

GANDHI

Home Department, Political, File No. 4/8/35. Courtesy: National Archives of India. Also *The Bombay Chronicle,* 12-12-1934

[1] On December 10 the addressee replied: "His Excellency has no objection to the publication of the correspondence."

505. LETTER TO MARGARETE SPIEGEL

December 7, 1934

CHI AMALA,

Your letters have been received. I shall be glad if you get something in Santiniketan. Do not be greedy in stating your terms. The rest through Mahadev.

Love.

BAPU

Spiegel Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

506. LETTER TO BHAGWANJI P. PANDYA

December 7, 1934

CHI. BHAGWANJI,

I got your letter. From where can I find the cash for Bhai Dhulji? How can I pay it either? I have one foot in jail and one outside. He ought not to have left Vijapur. But since he has left, he should now take up some work somewhere.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

You should not obstinately cling to milk and fruit diet. You can try to live on fresh milk and such leaves and tubers as can be eaten uncooked.

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 373. Courtesy: Bhagwanji P. Pandya

507. *LETTER TO MANUBEHN GANDHI*

December 7, 1934

CHI. MANUDI,

Why did you fall ill? Is it to enjoy the privilege of being nursed by your father? But get all right and don't let him nurse you very long.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 1536. Courtesy: Manubehn S. Mashruwala

508. *DISCUSSION WITH ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN*[1]

December 7, 1934

[GANDHIJI:] Khan Saheb, this is not an occasion when we may not offer defence. We must engage our own lawyer and offer defence.

The Khan Saheb said, "That may be, but I am averse to defending myself in a law-court. Ever since 1919 you have taught us not to recognize the law-courts and I should hate this time to do otherwise."

I quite see, but we do not want to go to jail now if we can help it and hence I would urge you to engage a lawyer.

"Just as you please", said the Khan Saheb, and got ready to accompany the officials.

The Bombay Chronicle, 9-12-1934

[1] This brief discussion took place just as Abdul Ghaffar Khan was leaving after his arrest. *The Bombay Chronicle* reports. ". . . today at about 5.15 p.m. when the D. S. P. of Wardha accompanied by a police officer from Bombay visited the Satyagraha Ashram asking for Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, he was sitting upstairs with Mahatma Gandhi and the arrival of visitors was announced by Mirabehn. Gandhiji asked her to bring them upstairs.

"The D. S. P. came up and told Gandhiji that he had a warrant of arrest for Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan from the Presidency Magistrate of Bombay. Gandhiji asked for the warrant and read it out to Khan Saheb. It was on a charge under Section 124-A, there being no mention of any speech or writing in question. On the D. S. P. asking Khan Saheb as to when he would be ready he said he was quite ready. But Gandhiji said that if the D. S. P. did not mind Khan Saheb would see his brother and children at Seth Jamnalal's place. . . ."

509. LETTER TO ABDUL GHANI

December 7, 1934

MY DEAR GHANI,

I am posting a letter to you [in a] separate cover written by Father. After he had written the letter, he was arrested in my presence and taken to Bombay. There he would be tried under Section 124-A. You would not be disturbed by the news. Prisons are our second or rather real home.

I expect a long letter from you telling me how you are doing there. Did you receive the letter I sent to you at Lucknow?

Love.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

510. LETTER TO CHOITHRAM GIDWANI

December 8, 1934

MY DEAR CHOITHRAM,

I have your letter. I am not sure that any propaganda will be of any service to you. In any case you cannot have Khan Saheb now. He is under arrest. Remember we do not want to court arrest just now. We have to become speechless manual labourers working in the villages. Speech-making must be reserved for the few in the Assembly and therefore it must be confined to a few. I hope you are keeping yourself fit.

Yours,

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 85

511. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

December 8, 1934

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I have your letter. It arrived today. Since it is dated the 6th, I should have got it yesterday. You will probably read what I have written to Mummy[1]. I have told her that she should discuss the matter with you and come to some arrangement convenient to you both. Whatever the circumstances, you ought to be sent for a few days to hand over charge.

The rest when we meet. I hope Jayaprakash is all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Andrews arrived today. Khurshedbehn will arrive on Monday. There was a letter from Gopi for you, saying that she was all right. You must have read about Khan Saheb's arrest.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3445

512. MESSAGE TO PRABHASHANKAR PATTANI[2]

December 8, 1934

I understand your difficulties. It will certainly be very good if you censure the Municipality, but even if you supersede the Municipality which does nothing but indulge in speech-making, nobody will describe that as "fascism".

*   *   *[3]

Instead of carrying the whole load of worries on your own head, I shall be happy if you send some of it here.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5940. Also C.W. 3257. Courtesy: Mahesh P. Pattani

[1] Swaruprani Nehru; the letter is not available.

[2] The message was conveyed to the addressee by Mahadev Desai in a letter dated December 8, 1934.

[3] Omission as in the source.

513. LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH

December 8, 1934

CHI. NARAHARI,

I have your letter.

The money given by Bhai Mavalankar and Ranchhodbhai for the dairy is welcome. I had a letter from Ambalalbhai saying that he did intend to pay the loss up to December 31. You may, therefore, spend just now from the money received from Mavalankar and Ranchhodbhai, but credit the sum to next year's account. Similarly, when you get the money from Ambalalbhai, you will have to return to me the Rs. 1,000 which I sent. The account will balance then. Send the figure of the loss up to December end to me first and then to Ambalalbhai. If I am in jail by that time, follow the instructions given in this letter. When drawing up the account to determine the amount of the loss, let me know the sums, if any, that you may have received from other sources. We should not include any of them in the amount to be paid by Ambalalbhai. One such sum, for instance, is that received for the Goseva Sangh and [utilized for the dairy] as suggested by yourself. I have written briefly about this to Narandas also. He doesn't know about your last letter.

Ratilal indeed has had a narrow escape. I hope the thief will be caught. Advise Prabhashankar to strengthen a little the guard at the bungalow. He may ask for legitimate help from the police. If Ratilal feels afraid, spare a room for him in the Ashram. It should be given on rent. If any cash or valuables are being kept in the bungalow, I have already suggested that they should be removed.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9066

514. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

December 9, 1934

I regret that Press correspondents have circulated unauthorized reports about the correspondence between the Government and myself regarding my contemplated visit to the Frontier Province. I would caution the public against believing such reports. I expect shortly to make a statement[1].

The Bombay Chronicle, 10-12-1934

515. LETTER TO KIRLOSKAR BROTHERS

December 10, 1934

GENTLEMEN,

I got your letter yesterday afternoon in the midst of an important interview. I was able to read it only at 3 a.m. today. I have taken the deepest interest in your invention. I have great regard for Mr. Kale both as a mechanic and a man. I felt drawn to him when he was at the Ashram. Being a fairly busy man, I had not much time to give to the examination of the machine, but I have kept myself in touch with the progress of the examination by the Judges[2]. When you offered to send it to me I told you of my own difficulty. But I was pressed by a friend to give the machine a trial myself. I, therefore, wrote to you again[3] asking you to send the machine with Mr. Kale and another who might know all about tools in general. I had intended to keep the machine here for some time so that the Director of the Ashram Shri Vinoba might also try it. The prize of Rs. 1,00,000 is at the disposal of him who would earn it. I am personally anxious to give it, if the machine of my dream can be had. The highest speed attained on the ordinary wheel is over 700 yards per hour. Besides yours, there are two machines of promise. They are also undergoing improvements.

[1] *Vide* "Statement to the Press", pp. 442-3.

[2] Satis Chandra Das Gupta, Lakshmidas Purushottam Asar and C. Rajagopalachari

[3] *Vide* p. 399.

I expect to leave for Delhi on or about the 18th inst. My movement becomes uncertain thereafter. I shall gladly try the machine myself if I succeed in returning to Wardha and if you will then entertain my request to send your machine. I intend to interest you in the Village Industries scheme and help it through your organization by suggesting or making improvements in the village tools, especially the indigenous village *chakki* for grinding wheat, etc., the rice-pounder, the oil-press and the cane-crusher.

If, however, you will entertain my request, I would like you to do so as comrades in a common humanitarian cause and not as commercial men suspecting the *bona fides* of public men who seek to tempt houses like yours to interest yourselves in inventions of benefit to millions of starving villagers.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy. Pyarelal

516. *LETTER TO J. N. SAHNI*

December 10, 1934

MY DEAR SAHNI,

I wonder how far you have answered the "National Call" and respected private friendship by publishing unfinished and unauthorized garbled version about the correspondence I am carrying on with the authorities. If you think you have advanced the national cause thereby, I have nothing to say. It would have been wise, if you had referred the matter to me as sometimes even strangers do.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI J. N. SAHNI
"NATIONAL CALL"
DELHI

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

517. LETTER TO M. VISVESVARAYYA[1]

December 10, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. Fortunately I have your book also sent to me for which too, kindly accept my thanks.

Your letter gave me great joy in that there was in it promise of your support to my humble effort on behalf of the villagers. I have no difficulty whatsoever in endorsing your remarks about heavy industries. I know that the heavy industries cannot be organized without power-driven machinery. I can have no quarrel with such use of machinery. My objection comes in when such machinery displaces human labour without providing displaced hands with a substitute at least as good as displaced labour.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: C.W. 9727. Courtesy: Government of Mysore

518. LETTER TO CARL HEATH

December 10, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter of 19th November. I have not been able to understand it, in spite of the help I sought from Charlie Andrews.

I have no hesitation in agreeing with you that any solution of the present deadlock should be just and creative, and that it should be neither imposed nor extorted; in other words, it should be an agreed solution honourable to both the countries. I know too the suffering of India and the suffering of Lancashire. But if the juxtaposition of the two is meant to imply that the cause of the suffering of either is identical I

[1] This letter was displayed at the Mysore Pavilion of the Gandhi Darshan Exhibition held in New Delhi in 1969-70.

would dissent from any such view. The suffering of India is imposed upon her; the suffering of Lancashire is due partly to world causes and partly to its own shortsightedness and selfishness. So far as it was possible for me to suggest an alleviation of the suffering of Lancashire through India's help I had made a definite offer[1] when I was in England in 1931. But my offer proved to be of no avail. The offer was this: If there was a free settlement between England and India, a favoured-nation clause was quite possible, in so far as India might need any foreign cloth in order to supplement her output of cloth, whether through the village spinning-wheel or through her mills. I do not know how far such treatment is possible today for, even during the short period that has elapsed since the meeting of the Round Table Conference, India has become better organized for the manufacture of all her clothing requirements, in spite of the fact that she is importing fine-count calico both from England and Japan. The chief point, however, is not how Lancashire can send its calico to India, but how the whole of England can benefit in every way by the benefit that India must derive from attainment of complete freedom, political and economic. The more I study the villages of India the more intensely do I realize that India has no need to be a pauper country if she can get the chance to grow without the fetters that today prevent her natural growth.

Your last paragraph seems to imply that there is no longer any repression in India. I can only tell you that repression is there to be seen by anyone with the naked eye. I do not know of any single repressive law that has been repealed. The Press is effectively gagged, there is no such thing as freedom of movement in Bengal as also in the Frontier Province. If you hear nothing of imprisonments and lathi charges it is because civil disobedience is suspended and the Congress has resolved, in furtherance of the spirit of non-violence, to submit to repressive laws in so far as it is humanly possible to do so. On the top of all this comes the Parliamentary Committee's proposals for a new constitution. It is, as I read it, a barefaced denial of freedom. I see in it no scope for expansion. I would any day prefer the existing state to the crushing burden that threatens to overwhelm India and tighten the British hold upon her. My own power of endurance is being tested beyond my capacity. My way to the Frontier Province is blocked.

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLVIII, pp. 68-9 and 76.

But, in spite of the blackness of the horizon, I have no sense of despair in me. I believe in the existence of a beneficent Power that overrides and upsets all human plans. It ever produces order out of chaos, and redresses wrongs in spite of the tyranny of tyrants.

India must come to her own one day. But she will do so chiefly if her own sons and daughters behave themselves and prove worthy of her freedom. We must exert our utmost to prove our worth, and you, friends of the Conciliation Group, will, I know, do your level best according to your lights to help a just solution.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

CARL HEATH, ESQ.
INDIAN CONCILIATION GROUP
FRIENDS HOUSE
EUSTON ROAD, LONDON, N. W. 1

From a photostat: G.N. 1027

519. LETTER TO STEEN

December 10, 1934

DEAR COL. STEEN,

I was glad to receive your letter. I did indeed collect a fair amount during my Harijan tour. The funds are in the hands of the Harijan Sevak Sangh, Delhi. The Board considers all applications for grants. My collections are mostly allocated for disbursements in the districts or places in which they were collected. You will be glad to know that several thousand schools and boarding houses are being conducted under the aegis of the Board or supported partly or wholly by it throughout India.

I need hardly tell you that I have known your institution and its work for many years. Shri Shinde was kind enough to interest me in it. Undoubtedly it is much older than the H. S. Sangh.

Wishing you all success,

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

520. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

December 10, 1934

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I got your letters. You should not expect any article from me just now. I can't even think what to write. I do not know the situation there. I do believe, however, that the Agent should stay. Whether he is a good or a bad one will depend on our luck. But if there were to be no Agent, nothing could be done. What is to be done if none of you knows the art of using the Agent well? Or probably experience will teach you that art. It will be enough if you yourself keep away from intrigues. Should I take it as certain now that you won't send a permit for Ramdas?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4828

521. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI N. PATEL

December 10, 1934

CHI. RAOJIBHAI,

This is no time to ask me to send messages. It would be best to let me do my work and deduce what message you can from it. It is better to demonstrate one's message through one's work rather than say it in words. Who else will take up the work of reviving village industries if not Patidar young men and women? What can be better education than such work? He is an educated man who multiplies one pie into two by honest means and does for the country work of greater value than the cost of the khadi that he wears. I wish the Conference[1] success.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 9592. Courtesy: Raojibhai N. Patel

[1] Patidar Conference

522. *LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL*

December 10, 1934

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

Pass on the accompanying letter[1] to Khan Saheb. The rest Mahadev will write. After receiving Rajendrababu's letter, I was left with no option. I have received no wire from Delhi so far.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 143

523. *LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI*

December 10, 1934

There is no possibility of your finding a copy of my *Samkshipta Balakanda*. You may find Gatulal's book. Send it to me if you do. Perhaps Munshi may have a copy. *Balakanda* may be found only with some Indian who was in South Africa. You may make inquiries.

Why should we waste our time in guessing the reasons for Khan Saheb's arrest? There is one obvious reason. They cannot put up with his dynamism.

My jail-going will be postponed. It seems, however, that ultimately there will be no alternative to it.

I intend to leave Wardha on the 18th or the 19th.

Wherever they lodge me, at the moment I feel that they must give me facilities for Harijan work.

. . .[2] is thinking things out for himself at the moment. I am hopeful, however, that after he has stumbled often enough he will come round. His mind has become extremely unsteady. The Lord will do as He pleases; He knows better. This knowledge relieves me from worry.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, pp. 154-5

[1] The letter is not available.

[2] The name is omitted in the source.

524. LETTER TO RAMESHWARDAS NEVATIA

December 10, 1934

CHI. RAMESHWAR,

Let me have a full report about Ghani. Pay him at least Rs. 30. I will write more tomorrow. What arrangements have been made for his meals? Can you not find a Muslim with clean habits? If you can find even a Christian cook, he will do. If there is a big railway station nearby, Ghani can go there daily for one meal. What is the climate of the place like? What is the size of the population?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3040

522. LETTER TO RAJENDRA PRASAD

December 10, 1934

BHAI RAJENDRA PRASAD,

Your letter. I have had an exhaustive account from Lakshmidas too. A copy of the letter I sent to Maulana Saheb is enclosed herewith.[1] I expect to reach Delhi during the last week of this month. The Working Committee will of course meet there and we may defer our decision till then. I hope everything will be settled at that time. We should not be scared into taking a decision contrary to our principles. Whatever step we may take can be taken only on its own merit.

My programme is at the moment fixed only up to my Delhi visit. Correspondence with the Viceroy will continue. So far as is possible I want to avoid going to jail but the future rests with God.

May you maintain good health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: C.W. 9733. Courtesy: Rajendra Prasad

[1] The letter is not available.

526. *LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA*

December 10, 1934

CHI. SHARMA,

Your letter. It is a pity that no two letters of yours are alike. All are full of your moods. For my part there is no question of any suspicion. For me the foremost task is to see you well-adjusted. You are the one who harbours suspicions. What have I written that you read my suspicion in it? I am in every way trying to arrange for your training. I have already written to Dr. Ansari. Tell me what more I am to do. You are indeed undergoing true training. What does it suggest when you say that you cannot get a house even in a village? What does Krishna's wasting away and your falling ill indicate? What happened to your research talents? Where is your self-control gone? You had written that your presence might cure Krishna. What are you doing now? I had taken it that you would be all right after having gone there. Your last letter pains me; it seems that you are passing the days in great distress. Have you made any arrangements for your children's education?

Give me a clear picture of what is happening there. As all are now under your control I get no letters either from your brothers or from Draupadi.

Ramdas is not progressing well. He is extremely worried and moreover unsteady. He is assailed by varying moods. God's will prevails, what can we do?

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I might reach Delhi about the 20th.

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha*, between pp. 130 and 131

527. LETTER TO T. RAMACHANDRA

[Before *December 11, 1934*][1]

Mahatma Gandhi has addressed a letter to Brahmachari T. Ramachandra[2] asking him to suggest names for occupying the position of agents for pursuing the activities of the All-India Village Industries Association in Mysore for each of the several districts in the State. Gandhiji has hinted that the workers so selected should be "whole-hoggers".

The Hindu, 12-12-1934

528. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

December 11, 1934

It is unfortunate that Press correspondents have thought fit without reference to the parties thereto to publish garbled reports of the correspondence that has been going on between His Excellency the Viceroy and myself with reference to my contemplated visit to the Frontier Province.

I was pressed by several editors to contradict or confirm the reports.

The best thing I could do was to seek His Excellency's permission to publish the correspondence in so far as it has gone. Having just received this permission,[3] I release the correspondence to the Press.

But I would warn the public against thinking that the correspondence is closed and that I am waiting for the first opportunity to court arrest by proceeding to the Frontier in the teeth of His Excellency's advice to the contrary.

I have no desire to offer civil disobedience at the present moment. My object is as a humble servant of God to meet those in the Frontier who call themselves Servants of God and to know them. The urge has become all the greater now that their brave leader is under arrest. But my immediate object cannot be served

[1] The report has the date-line "Bangalore, December 11, 1934".

[2] M. L. C. and Secretary, Mysore State Harijan Sevak Sangh

[3] *Vide* footnote on p. 427.

by defiance of authority. Therefore, I propose to try all possible constitutional means to obtain the necessary permission.

If suspicion of my motive is the cause of refusal, I shall try to disarm the suspicion. My endeavour is to avoid every occasion for civil disobedience of authority, in so far as it is humanly possible to do so.

I would therefore ask the public in general, and the friends of the Frontier in particular, to hold themselves in patience. They will know in proper time what is to happen finally. And I would urge the editors of newspapers to respect my wish that they publish nothing concerning my contemplated visit to the Frontier without authority.

Here is the correspondence[1]:

The Bombay Chronicle, 12-12-1934

529. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

December 11, 1934

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I got both your letters together. I will probably leave on the 19th. I had thought that you would arrive here on Sunday. What can my influence avail? You alone can judge how much your presence is necessary there. Is it your job, or mine from this distance, to please Mummy? It is not as easy to send for you here now as it was to relieve you. For myself, I am eagerly awaiting your arrival, and your work also remains unattended to. I shall write to Mummy today again.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3436

[1] Not reproduced here; *vide* pp, 348-9, 406 and 427.

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530. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

December 11, 1934

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I see that you are endeavouring to reach Delhi under any circumstances before the 20th. There is no need for all this trouble if it is only for my sake. You must not rush at the cost of your health. One more point arises about my visit. Would not my staying with you be risky in view of my recent correspondence with the Viceroy, a garbled version of which has appeared in the Press? And the third point: Would you not be subject to pressure of work immediately on your reaching there? If you think I must go to Delhi I can go only after four or five days. As far as I can see now I can set out on the 19th, reaching there on the 20th. Mahadev is writing to you about the rest.

I have Gopi's letter which I am enclosing with this. Could she benefit from a trip to Europe?

Blessings from
BAPU

From Hindi: C.W. 8003. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

531. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

December 12, 1934

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I got your letter. I am sending a fresh statement[1] altogether for Khan Saheb. I think it is the only proper statement for him to make, and he should make it. I am writing to him. Read that letter. I need not write anything more here. The apology offered in the statement seems absolutely essential to me. But you are the final judge about that and about the whole statement. I can say nothing positively from this distance. I also feel that a

[1] To be submitted to the court

lawyer should be engaged. He may read out the statement. He should not plead either guilty or not guilty. The lawyer should not plead for a lighter sentence, but may, if he wishes, analyse the speech or may only watch the proceedings. There is no need at all to cross-examine the witnesses. But these are my personal views only. The final decision about everything rests with you.

As for me, you know what the position is. Andrews has left for Delhi today on that very business. He has asked me not to proceed further in the matter meanwhile. Details will be given to you by Mathuradas. Nothing more need be done for the present regarding Rajendrababu. I have received a wire from Ghanshyamdas saying that the doctors do not permit him to leave till the 30th. I need not, therefore, reach Delhi on the 20th, unless Andrews advises otherwise. The meeting of the Working Committee can be called now only in January.

If you think it proper to attend Balvantrai's Conference, you may do so. I can't judge about that.

Tell Abhyankar on my behalf, too, that he should get all right.

Pyarelal must have arrived there. If you require more help, please ask for it. If it is possible, send away Prabhavati to Swaruprani. Pyarelal also should pay her a visit.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 143-4

532. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

December 13, 1934

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I got your letter. Manilal's and . . .[1]'s problem seems to have been solved satisfactorily. I feel unhappy about Karnataka. But what can we say to a leader like Gangadharrao? Do what you can.

I am now wholly occupied with the Village Industries Association. Rajaji is here. He came the day before yesterday evening and wants to leave today. Jamnalal will go there in a few days.

[1] The name is omitted in the source.

The rest you will know from Mahadev.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 145

533. *HARIJAN WORK IN ASSAM*

The Secretary, Harijan Sevak Sangh, Assam, has sent me a copy of the report of the Sangh's work during the year. From the report I abstract the following interesting particulars:

The Sangh runs 72 schools for boys and girls with 2,365 pupils on the rolls. Of these, 21 are mixed schools and 4 for girls only.

The total amount spent on the schools during the year was Rs. 4,495-14-0.

The Sangh recruited 328 boys and girls for the ordinary schools.

Scholarships totalling Rs. 864-9-0 for Middle English and High English schools were given to Harijan students.

The total value of books, slates, soaps, clothes given came to Rs. 206-2-6.

23 *Namghars* (prayer houses) were thrown open to Harijans.

The Jorhat Committee built a common prayer house for Rs. 1,196-9-3.

The Sangh employed 11 Harijan teachers, including two mistresses.

A co-operative society was organized at Dibrugarh for Bhangis. 81 Bhangis have taken up shares. Rs. 920 have already been realized.

The Sangh has organized 9 District Committees. These have organized 22 sub-committees of Harijans.

Free medical relief was given, costing Rs. 16-7-0. 40 spinning-wheels and ten maunds of cotton for spinning were distributed among poor Harijans.

132 villages were toured for anti-opium and anti-drink propaganda. As a result, 154 took pledges, giving up drink, and 15 hemp smoking.

Municipal Boards of the Province were requested to make better arrangements of housing, drainage and water supply for their employees, especially the sweepers. But it is sad to note that none of them took up the work. Gauhati and Dibrugarh were the worst offenders.

By way of contrast, it is pleasurable to note that, at the instance of the itinerant workers, some villages constructed their own roads and cleaned their own tanks.

> 246 villages were surveyed during the year, and statistics of Harijan families as to their condition, professions, disabilities, drinking and opium habits, etc., were collected.
>
> The President, His Holiness the Satradhikar Goswami of Garmur, toured through most of the important places including the ex-tea-garden coolie centres.
>
> In Assam, opium is a very serious problem. It ruins the addict physically, morally and materially. It has been found that, in 8 districts, the average consumption among 64,459 addicts is nearly 1½ *tolas* per head per month. In Nowgong, excepting the Mikir Hills, the consumption is about 18 Srs. per 10,000, in Lakhimpur it is 62 Srs. per 10,000! In Mikir Hills it is even over 62 Srs. per 10,000. Harijans are the worst sufferers in Lakhimpur, Sibsagar and Nowgong.
>
> The main professions of indigenous Harijans are fishing, pottery and goldsmithy. The revival movement should result in helping these artisans.

This encouraging record is marred by the knowledge that over one-fourth of the expenses were incurred for administrative and propaganda purposes. The total expenditure was Rs. 11,966. Of this, Rs. 3,664 represents administration and propaganda, and Rs. 8,302 welfare. Administrative staff absorbs Rs. 1,149 and propagandists Rs. 1,020. I have omitted annas and pies. Now this expense for welfare work of Rs. 8,302 is much too much in my estimation. As I have repeatedly said, constructive work is its own and the best propaganda. Administrative staff should also be reduced to a minimum. I know that Assam is a difficult province to work [in]. Nevertheless, the fact that Harijan Sevak Sanghs are an organization of penitents or debtors should ever be borne in mind.

Harijan, 14-12-1934

534. NOTES

An Aspiring Naturopath

Being myself a half-baked naturopath, I draw to myself similar cranks, of whom Shri Sharma of Khurja is one. He had to his credit a Sun and Light Hospital and some well advertised books. I had a hand in the disappearance of the Hospital. The sequel is told as follows in his own words:[1]

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.

> . . . I would like . . . to inform . . . those who may be interested in nature-cure methods that, having become, of late, more acquainted with the ways of Nature, that is of Truth, I have discovered that all my books on sunlight and colour cannot be held to be reliable beyond doubt. . . . I would, therefore, like all those who possess my books, or who might have heard of them, for the time being to dismiss them from their consideration and not to rely upon what I have written therein or upon the invention which I have advertised therein. I hope some day . . . to re-write the books and place them before the public with confidence based upon verifiable experiments.

I wish the other naturopaths will take a lesson from Shri Sharma's example. I have written and spoken much against the modern treatment of diseases. But I have a sneaking regard for the comparative sanity of allopaths. They do not make pretensions. The best among them do not refuse to learn from others, and they are humble enough to own their mistakes among themselves, though not to their patients. They try to know all about the human body and as much as is possible of the drugs they use. Naturopaths use few drugs. But an accurate knowledge of the body is surely essential for all who would tamper with it under the pretence of curing it of the many ailments to which it is a prey. Shri Sharma has a burning passion for becoming a true naturopath. He is, therefore, determined to acquire a working knowledge of anatomy, physiology and whatever is necessary for all who will deal with diseases, whether in the name of allopathy, homoeopathy or naturopathy. His notice is a confession and a warning. Let all concerned take note.

Harijan, 14-12-1934

535. *A HARIJAN SEVAK GONE*

I tender my respectful condolences to the family of Shri V. P. Madhava Rao who died the other day[1] at Bangalore at the ripe old age of 85. He was Dewan of Travancore, Baroda and Mysore. After his retirement he used to devote his time to social service. And though so old, he had allowed himself to be nominated as Chairman of the local Harijan Sevak Sangh. His was an influence always exerted on behalf of the Harijan.

Harijan, 14-12-1934

[1] On December 1, 1934

536. MOTHER OF INVENTION

Shri J. K. Mehta, Secretary, Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay, writes:[1]

> . . . In 1917 my services were borrowed from the Chamber by the Government of India for purposes of the War. I was at Simla for about a year and a half with the Munitions Board. . . . It was found that horseshoes could not be made available from the United Kingdom. It proved to be a great and complicated problem, as there was no factory in India making horseshoes. . . . Ultimately the solution was found in getting supplies from hundreds of villages. The village smithy came to the rescue of the Government of India, . . . who got horseshoes from different villages and sent them up for the Army requirements. . . .

Truly, necessity is the mother of invention. Why should not we be able to accomplish in our war against enforced idleness and unemployment what had become possible in the time of the great War? Instances such as Shri J. K. Mehta has given can be endlessly multiplied. The whole face of the great continent of Europe was changed during those days of mutual slaughter, and men and women, boys and girls had to work with their hands, in order that they might be able to keep body and soul together.

Harijan, 14-12-1934

537. A. I. V. I. A. — OBJECT AND CONSTITUTION[2]

[WARDHA,
December 14, 1934][3]

As the idea was to form a Board of Administration of the policy and programme of the All-India Village Industries Association of persons who thoroughly believe in its policy and the practicability of its programme and who will, in effect, be whole-timers, both Mr. Kumarappa and I have given considerable time and thought to the formation of the Board.

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.

[2&3] The Association was formed on this date; *vide* Vol. LX, "The New Baby", pp. 16-8. The constitution was released to the Press along with a statement on December 15.

The Congress resolution[1] in the matter contemplates the question of a self-acting, independent and non-political organization consisting of men and women whose primary aim in life would be identification with the villagers and promotion of their welfare.

The following friends, having understood the implications of their obligation, have consented to form the Association of which they become both the foundation-members and the first Board of Management:

Shri Shrikrishnadas Jajooji, President and Treasurer
[Shri] J. C. Kumarappa, Organizer and Secretary
Shrimati Gosibehn Captain
Dr. Khan Saheb
Shri Shoorji Vallabhdas
Dr. Prafulla Ghosh
Shri Lakshmidas Purushottam Asar
Shri Shankerlal Banker

They will have power to add to their number.

The function of the Board will be to define the programme of village reconstruction work from time to time, to co-ordinate the policy followed in different centres, to collect, collate and circulate information gathered from workers or agents as to the actual condition of the existing village industries, both those that may be flourishing and those that may be perishing, also as to the economic, moral and physical condition of villagers, to carry on research work with the help of specialists and experts and to discover and create a market for surplus village manufactures.

The Board will collect such funds as may be required for the due discharge of its functions. As the secret of the success of the policy of this Association will be in making the villagers self-reliant and self-supporting, its programme must not be costly. The idea is, therefore, to work with as little outlay as possible.

It follows, therefore, that decentralization must be the key-note of the Board's policy, and India will be divided into as many areas as there may be workers or agents, who will work, organize and be responsible to the Board for the carrying out of its programme in their respective areas.

The workers or agents will be selected from those who, consistently with their preoccupation of earning their livelihood, will give their whole time to the work of the Association. So far as possible, the agents will be honorary. They will collect

[1] *Vide* p. 220.

what funds may be necessary for the organization of their areas. It may be that the Board will not get many unpaid agents. It will be satisfied, for a start, even with a few districts which are thoroughly organized and demonstrated to be economically and otherwise successful. A list of agents will be published from time to time.

The Board cannot carry on research work without the help of experts. And since experts cannot be expected to give their whole time and thought to the work of the Association, I have sent requests to several friends if they would allow their names to appear on the Board of Advisers. So far the following friends have kindly consented to be on it:

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore
Sir J. C. Bose
Sir P. C. Ray
Sir C. V. Raman
Shri Ramdas Pantulu
Jamal Mohamed Sahib
Shri G. D. Birla
Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas
Sir S. Pochkhanawalla
Prof. Sam Higginbottom
Dr. Jivraj Mehta
Dr. M. A. Ansari
Major-General Sir Robert McCarrison
Dr. Rajabally
V. Patel
Dr. S. Subba Rao
Dr. B. C. Roy
Dr. Purushottam Patel

Wardha has been chosen as the Headquarters because of being centrally situated, being a junction station and being rather a glorified village than a city.

Though I have several names before me of friends who have undertaken to act as agents to the Association, I would request these correspondents as well as others to offer their names to the Organizer and Secretary, Mr. J. C. Kumarappa, Wardha. I have transferred to him all the names and papers received by me.

The Constitution of the Association

The Association contemplated by the resolution regarding village industries passed by the Indian National Congress at its session held on the 27th October, 1934, at Bombay, and known

as the All-India Village Industries Association, i.e., the Akhil Bharat Gram Udyog Sangh, is hereby formed.

Object

The object of the Association shall be village reorganization and reconstruction, including the revival, encouragement and improvement of village industries, and the moral and physical advancement of the villages of India.

Activities

For the due fulfilment of its object, the Association shall raise funds to carry on research work, publish literature, organize propaganda, establish agencies, devise measures for the improvement of village tools, and do everything that may be necessary for the furtherance of its object.

The Association shall work under the guidance and advice of Gandhiji.

The Association shall consist of: (i) A Board of Management, (ii) Members, (iii) Agents, (iv) Honorary workers, (v) Paid, wholetime workers and (vi) Associates, and shall also have a board of advisers.

Membership

Any person who subscribes to the pledge hereto annexed and is recommended by a member, or any one of the duly authorized agents of the Association, and whose admission is approved by the Board of Management shall be a Member.

Any person who sympathizes with the object of the Association and pays an annual subscription of not less than Rs. 100 shall be an Associate, and any person who pays a lump sum of Rs. 1,000 may be enrolled as a Life Associate.

Advisers shall be those who, consistently with their preoccupations, agree to give the free benefit of their special knowledge to the Association whenever they are consulted.

Board of Management

The following foundation-members shall be the first Board of Management to hold office for three years:

Shri Shrikrishandas Jajoo
[Shri] J. C. Kumarappa
Shri[mati] Gosibehn Captain
Dr. Khan Saheb
Shoorji Vallabhdas
Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh

Shri Lakshmidas Purushottam Asar
[Shri] Shankerlal Banker

Thereafter the members shall elect the Board of Management to hold office for a period of three years.

The Board of Management shall be in full charge of the affairs of the Association, hold funds and properties for it, and shall have power to add to their number from among the duly enrolled members, provided that the total strength does not exceed twenty.

The Board of Management shall maintain proper books of accounts which shall be duly audited and which shall be open to public inspection.

The Board of Management shall have the power to frame bye-laws for the carrying out of the object clause.

It will be open to the Board of Management to alter or amend or add to this constitution by the consent of three-fourths of the then existing members of the Board of Management.

The Board of Management shall have power to appoint trustees to hold funds and properties on behalf of the Association.

Pledge for Members

Having read the constitution and rules of the All-India Village Industries Association, I offer to be a member thereof and, God helping, promise to devote the best part of my energy and talents to the furtherance of its object, which is the all-round welfare of the villagers of India.

So long as I remain a member of the Association, I shall not take part in any campaign of Civil Disobedience.

In the discharge of my duties, I shall seek the assistance and co-operation of all those who may be willing to give them, irrespective of differences in politics.

To the best of my ability, I shall strive to live up to the ideals of the Association and prefer the use of village manufactures to any other.

In the prosecution of my obligations to the villagers, I shall recognize no distinction between man and man.

Harijan, 21-12-1934

538. LETTER TO J. N. SAHNI

December 14, 1934

MY DEAR SAHNI,

Your letter. I do not read *Hindustan Times*. The cutting you send me I see for the first time. It is just now 3 a.m. Devdas is here but I see him rarely. I am sending the cutting to him with a note of disapprobation. Although it was a Press agency report, he had no right to publish it without reference to me. You or he or anybody would be justified in publishing exclusive news provided it was authorized by the party affected. There are today in India English journalists who, though not well disposed towards me, observe the rule with reference to me, not for my sake but for their own journalistic reputation. I know that you did not err wittingly, but you have erred, now I can say, both as a soldier and [as a] journalist.[1] The injury started with the U. P. wire from Patna. But I have done. I draw the attention of those who, I believe, are amenable to influence from me. You must forget all about it, but learn the lesson that it is better not to print anything about me in which public interest is involved, without reference to me.

You shall certainly see me when I come to Delhi and you will incidentally know what injury has been caused by the premature publication of news that was only half true, not by you only, but others also. But others' lapse does not excuse yours.

Yours sincerely,

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* also "Letter to J. N. Sahni", p. 434.

539. LETTER TO SAHEBJI MAHARAJ

December 15, 1934

DEAR SAHEBJI MAHARAJ[1],

I have kept your previous letter of 6th September by me. I read your "Cows Help Cows" only last week. It is beautifully written. But I want to complain as a humble representative of the cow. Some experts tell me that mixtures such as you contemplate are not wholly successful. What, I find, is needed are experiments that would serve the villagers in their own villages. If we do not find anything in that direction the majority of cows have to die so that the minority in off places like Dayalbagh may live!

I shall want your help in the village industries work.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 2161

540. LETTER TO VERRIER ELWIN

December 15, 1934

MY DEAR VERRIER,

I am afraid your undertaking[2] covers my visit. You have to take permission. You have to observe it in the letter and the spirit. When in doubt, conscience demands reference. If they do not give an unequivocal answer, you may not have me there. So long as the undertaking lasts, the more honourable course is to refer all doubtful matters to the authorities. If it

[1] Head of the Radhaswami sect in Dayalbagh, Agra

[2] At the time of the renewal of his passport to India, the addressee had to give the following undertaking: "That I would confine myself entirely to work among the Gonds;

"take no part in civil disobedience or any other political movement;

"refrain, as far as possible, from associating with any persons engaged in political agitation;

"refrain from writing articles against the Government; and would observe the undertaking in the spirit as well as the letter."

was well to give the undertaking, it is well also to leave oneself in the hands of those who have taken it.

Andrews was here the other day. He is in Delhi now. I shall meet him again. He will leave for England on 5th January (D.V.).

Love to you all.

BAPU

SHRI VERRIER ELWIN
GOND SEVA MANDAL
KARANJIA (C. P.)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

541. *LETTER TO H. P. MODY*

December 15, 1934

DEAR MR. MODY,

The Assam Relief Committee write to say that they have not received any blankets from you.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI H. P. MODY
MILL OWNERS' ASSOCIATION
BOMBAY FORT

From the original: H. P. Mody Papers. Courstesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

ADDENDA

1. *LETTER TO S. AMBUJAMMAL*

WARDHA,
October 6, 1934

CHI. AMBUJAM,

I have your letter written in your old style. I am glad you have given me so much news.

You can certainly return when you like and can, if Father and Mother give you permission. The sooner you can come the better.

All is well here. The rains seem to have stopped entirely.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: Ambujammal Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

2. *LETTER TO S. AMBUJAMMAL*

WARDHA,
October 14, 1934

MY DEAR AMBUJAM,

You have filled me with deep anxiety, and I have not known what to do. In my despair I sent a long telegram to Harihara Sharma. At first I thought I would wire to Father. Then I became afraid lest he should be angry and your position should become more awkward than it already is.

Though I have not interfered with your fast, I have not felt happy over it. However, I do hope that it ended without any injury to the body, and that you were enjoying inward happiness during the fast. You must not give way to despair if even the fast has not induced the parents to grant you the permission to come to me. You must try again and again but no more fasting should be undertaken. You should try to deserve their permission by your correct conduct and patient argument with them. I am sure that they will listen to your request when they realize that

it is not in a momentary fit that you have desired to come to me, but that it is a longing of the soul which you dare not suppress.[1] I do hope that you will listen to me.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI S. AMBUJAMMAL
AMJAD BAGH, LUZ
MADRAS

From the original: Ambujammal Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

3. LETTER TO S. SRINIVASA IYENGAR

December 11, 1935

DEAR FRIEND,

I purposely refrained from sending a reply to your previous letter as it did not call for any. The letter received two days ago did require a reply. But I was waiting for the arrival of your good wife. It was a privilege for me to meet her here. The advent of Ambujam has been a blessing to me. [She][1] revives old sweet memories and brings me nearer to you as a member of the family. I have not had a long chat with her. I hope to some time today. I have a heavy meeting be[fo]re me [ami]d[st] an otherwise heavy programme for the next two days. Ambujam is well and happy.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original. Courtesy: S. Doraiswami Iyer and Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] The source is illegible here and a few other places.

APPENDIX

TALK WITH MARY CHESLEY[1]

[On or before *December 15, 1934*][2]

MARY CHESLEY: Do you believe your guidance comes from subconscious reasoning or from God?

GANDHI: From God—but subconscious reasoning may be the voice of God. Often, after seeing the way I consciously reason out why that is the best way. Mahomet was like this, very sure his voices were of God and he was no impostor.

M. C. Then does following conscience lead to mystical experiences?

G. It may or it may not. But one thing is sure that the humility which feels itself nothing before God is necessary for mystical experiences, such as those of Saint Francis and Saint Augustine. On the other hand, a Bradlaw or a Marcus Aurelius, though following conscience, felt themselves to be self-made men and not dependent on God, and so they could get no mystical experiences or joy. To me, following conscience is following a living force, not an ethical code.

M. C. How do you understand what is God's guidance for you when it is a question of choosing between two *good* things?

G. I use my intellect on the subject and if I don't get any strong feeling as to which of the two I should choose, I just leave the matter, and before long I wake up one morning with the perfect assurance that it should be A rather than B. Always, of course, it is necessary to be utterly humble and go wherever the decision should take you, even though it should be to difficulties and suffering.

M. C. Is it not necessary to lead a disciplined life in order to receive these assurances as to what to do and not to do?

G. Yes, of course, one's mind must be attuned to the five necessary rules of love, truth, purity, non-possession and fearlessness.

M. C. Do you include bodily discipline such as fasting?

G. If you follow the five rules already mentioned, you will find that bodily discipline follows automatically. You should read *Rajayoga* by Swami Vivekananda on this point.

[1] *Vide* p. 467.

[2] According to the source the talk took place at the close of one of the sessions of the All-India Village Industries Association held at Wardha on December 14 and 15, 1934.

Just then word was brought to Gandhi that a certain rich man had donated a large sum of money to the All-India Village Industries Association fund, and joy was expressed by the little group, Gandhi remarking quietly . . . that loving service was receiving its reward. He had been saying previously that we who believed in non-violence should win the rich to serve the poor by our own devoted service and by showing our contentment and happiness in a position of less wealth and prestige than we might demand. He spoke about this again now.

G. If rich people could see us poorer ones really content instead of hankering after wealth, it would become the fashion to dispense with wealth. The fashion for brown bread grew because a few enthusiasts showed that they really believed in it and liked it. Unfortunately the higher castes have failed to identify themselves with their humbler fellows. This is the darkest hour of Hinduism. I have no excuse to offer for it.

M. C. What is your remedy?

G. Everything I am doing, village industries, khaddar, Harijan work, etc.[1]

M. C. From what sources do you get your conception of God?

G. From my childhood, remembering my mother's constant visits to the temple. Sometimes these were as many as four or five a day, and never less than two. Also my nurse used to tell me I must repeat the name of God if I felt afraid.

M. C. Are not your own experiences sources of your conception too?

G. Yes, but they did not begin until later, in South Africa. Before that I had a period of doubt and it was during that time that I began to study Islam and Christianity.

M. C. How far have these two religions coloured your conception of God?

G. I began with a prejudice against Christianity because in my youth it had meant to me drink, eating meat and Western clothes. I had no such prejudice to overcome against Islam. Later when I met some fine Christian people my prejudice went, and for a year I studied Christian books voraciously, attended the Keswick Convention, met famous divines and generally absorbed Christianity, honestly seeking to know if I should do as some of my friends were always begging me to do—become a Christian. But in the end I honestly felt I could not do so. I believe in the historic Jesus, for the four gospels bear the stamp of the real experience of devotees.

M. C. Is the conception of God as Father only to be found in Christianity?

G. No, it is also to be found in Hinduism. Read the second chapter of the *Gita* in which the conception of God, not only as Father, but also as

[1] At this point Kasturba and others came with Gandhiji's food. Mary Chesley left and joined him again during his evening walk.

Mother is to be found. This is not the case with Islam, for among all its ninety-nine names for God, "Father" is not one. Mahomet, like Christ, had the authoritative note of God-consciousness. If you judge a religion by the changed lives of its adherents, Islam seems to me to have as much to show as Christianity. Anyway, two thousand years is a very brief time in which to judge the merits of a religion.

M. C. I know some people who are praying that you may become a Christian.

G. (Laughing) . . . Many are—

M. C. But wait until you hear the reason—it is because they feel that you can give a truer interpretation of Christianity than any yet given to the world.

G. There are others who feel that too. But if they wish me to say that Christianity is the only true religion, I cannot do so. I can truly say, however, that Christianity is a true religion.

M. C. What do you think is the special contribution of Christianity, Islam and Hinduism to the world?

G. I think Christianity's particular contribution is that of active love. No other religion says so firmly that God is love, and the New Testament is full of the word. Christians, however, as a whole have denied this principle with their wars. The ahimsa of Hinduism is a more passive thing than the active Christian love.

The great contribution of Hinduism is its recognition of the unity of all life. Like Christianity, Hinduism has not lived up to its teaching. If either had done so, there would have been no need for Islam, for whatever is fundamentally good in a religion for the part of the world in which it has arisen is certainly good for the whole world.

Islam's contribution has been the brotherhood of all men. Later this idea was limited to the Islamic brotherhood, so Muslims too have failed to live up to the teaching of their religion. Khan Saheb, with his teaching of the service of all humanity, is bringing them back to the original idea.

M. C. You once said that the idea of Jesus as the Son of God was a mystical conception. Would you enlarge upon that, please?

G. I believe that Jesus was a man born in the natural way, and that people, seeing the wonderful things he did, ascribed divinity to him, and then described it mystically by saying that he was the Son of God.

M. C. Do you think such writers were impostors?

G. No. They were just expressing their conception mystically. The whole Book of Revelation is a description of mystical experiences. For example, it does not mean literally that streets were to be paved with gold. Many mystical expressions would be gross if they meant literally what they said.

M. C. Have *you* had any mystical experiences?

G. If, by mystical experiences, you mean visions, no. I should be a fraud if I claimed to have had such. But I am very sure of the voice which

guides me. Of course, some unbalanced people have claimed to hear voices too—but I do not think anyone has suggested that I am unbalanced.[1]

M. C. You have spoken of your sense of uneasiness which preceded your tweny-one days' fast[2] last year, and also said that generally when obeying your inner voice, you find a reason for your action afterwards. Did you find a reason for the twenty-one days' fast?

G. It is true that a sense of uneasiness drove me to that fast. Usually, even under the greatest strain I can remain quite buoyant but when I lost that buoyancy and could not even sleep, I decided to fast and immediately found peace. Yes, I did discover a reason for it, one which the fast itself brought to light; for several people, both at the time and afterwards, wrote to tell me of sins which they had committed and which they had now put right to the best of their ability. They said that the fast had brought them to a knowledge of the truth about themselves and that they would not allow such faults to occur again.

M. C. You have said sometimes that consciousness of sin brings a feeling of separation from God. Did you feel any such separation before your fast?

G. No. I felt only great uneasiness and restlessness. I could not joke even in my usual way.

During the discussion on the organization of Village Industries' Association Gandhi made it clear that 'rural-mindedness' was to him not a mere detail, but the prime necessity. When the name of a certain woman was suggested as a member of the Board, he remembered that she had, in all seriousness, thought it impossible to use tooth-sticks in a town, because there was nowhere to throw them.

We could not have anyone of such mentality on the Board. To begin with, we do not want in our Village Industries to try to compete with the West in making tooth-powders, etc.

Bapu, pp. 114-22

[1] This remark was said in such a droll way that all burst into laughter.

[2] From May 8 to 28, 1933. *Vide* Vol. LV.

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CHRONOLOGY

(*September 16, 1934—December 15, 1934*)

September 16: Gandhiji was at Wardha.

September 17: Issued statement to Press explaining his decision to resign from Congress.

September 20: Gandhiji and M. S. Aney issued joint statement to Press.

September 23: Gandhiji wrote introduction to *Varnavyavastha.*

September 25-28: Had discussion with C. F. Andrews, Rajendra Prasad and Vallabhbhai Patel.

October 5: Gandhiji's 66th birthday according to Gujarati calendar celebrated.

October 6: In statement to Press, Gandhiji acknowledged messages received on his birthday.

Before *October 10:* Sent message to Madras electors urging them "to choose Congress representatives".

October 12: Paid tribute to Raja of Kalakanker through *Harijan.*

October 15: Issued statement to Press regarding amendment to Congress constitution and other resolutions he proposed to move at forthcoming Congress session.

October 20: Reached Bombay in morning.

October 22: In public meeting, paid tributes to Vithalbhai Patel on his death anniversary.

October 23: Spoke at Congress Subjects Committee meeting.

October 24: At Subjects Committee meeting, moved his resolution on All-India Village Industries Association.

October 26: Addressing Subjects Committee members, urged them to adopt amended constitution.

October 27: Continued his speech on amendments at Subjects Committee meeting.

Sub-committee appointed to study amendments.

October 28: Gandhiji presided over anniversary celebration of

Shoorji Vallabhdas Swadeshi Bazaar, in morning.
Presented at Subjects Committee meeting Sub-committee's report on amendments and draft resolution on Indian States.
Gandhiji's resolution on amendment of Congress constitution passed at open session.
Congress session concluded.
Gandhiji gave message to nation in interview to Associated Press.

October 29: Issued statement to Press urging people to vote for Congress candidates.
Gave statement on silk yarn.
Left for Wardha in evening.

October 30: Reached Wardha.
In statement to Press spelled out changes in Congress constitution and explained his retirement from Congress.
Resigned from Congress.

November 8: Issued statement to Press regarding A.I.V.I.A.

November 9: Gave interview to Nirmal Kumar Bose.

November 10: Interview to Nirmal Kumar Bose continued.

November 11: Gandhiji had discussion with B. Shiva Rao and J. C. Kumarappa.

November 15: Wrote to Viceroy on his contemplated visit to North-West Frontier Province.
Gave interview to *The Manchester Guardian.*

November 22: Joint Parliamentary Committee's report published.
In interview to Associated Press, Gandhiji refused to comment on it.

November 25: Private Secretary to Viceroy wrote to Gandhiji that it was not desirable for him to visit Frontier Province at "the present time".

November 26: Gandhiji released to Press his correspondence with Sir George Schuster regarding salt concession.

November 28: Wrote to Viceroy in reply to Government's stand not allowing Gandhiji to visit Frontier Province.

On or before *November 30:* Spoke at annual session of Gandhi Seva Sangh.

December 1: V. P. Madhava Rao died.

December 7: Gandhiji sent telegram to Viceroy seeking permission to publish correspondence.
Abdul Ghaffar Khan arrested.

December 9: In statement to Press Gandhiji warned public against believing unauthorized reports of his correspondence with Viceroy.

December 11: Released to Press his correspondence with Government.

December 14: Paid tributes to V. P. Madhava Rao through *Harijan*.
All-India Village Industries Association formed.

On or before *December 15:* Mary Chesley met Gandhiji.[1]

December 15: Gandhiji issued constitution of A.I.V.I.A. through statement to Press.

[1] For a summary of discussion with Mary Chesley, *vide* Appendix.

INDEX OF TITLES

INDEX

ERRATA

PAGE	FOR	READ
7 Footnote	[1] & [2] *Vide* Vol. LVIII.	[1] *Vide* Vol. LVIII, p. 8. [2] *Vide* Vol. LVII, pp. 348-50.
145 Item 179, line 2	and do not connect	and they connect
163 Item 208, lines 11-12	direct ment	direct management
207 Para 2, line 1	proposition	proportion
230 Footnote 1, line 4	'peaceful and legimate'	'peaceful and legitimate'
277 Item 292, line 5	That you are precise	That you are not precise